

## U.S. Officials Say Salvadoran Rightists Drew Lots to Plan Archbishop's Killing

By Laurie Becklund  
Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — The U.S. State Department received "highly reliable" information more than two years ago that Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran rightist leader, and about a dozen active-duty security force officers drew lots for the right to plan the assassination of the late Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in March 1980, according to well-placed U.S. officials.

The officials, who were interviewed on the condition that they not be identified, said that the information indicated that Mr. d'Aubuisson had presided over the drawing and that the officers present considered the killing an honor — "a privilege" — because they believed that Archbishop Romero was a threat to El Salvador's national security.

U.S. officials said that information about the alleged assassination on March 24, 1980, was contained in two secret State Department

cables written by embassy officers in San Salvador in late 1980 and 1981.

They refused to identify the source of the information. But each said that the cables presented convincing evidence to back up longstanding allegations of Mr. d'Aubuisson's involvement in the assassination. Two sources described the information as "highly reliable."

The sources, three well-placed U.S. officials who said that they have seen the cable information, said that the second dispatch contained the name of a man believed to have been the killer. He is a Walter Antonio Alvarez, a former National Guardsman who has since been killed.

The archbishop, an outspoken critic of government repression, was shot as he said Mass in a hospital chapel. His assassination was by far the most politically significant of the 40,000 killings that have taken place in El Salvador's three-and-a-half-year civil war.

Robert E. White, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, confirmed this week that a cable had been sent to Washington late in 1980 which, he said, reported that Mr. d'Aubuisson had "pulled together a group of people" to conspire to murder the archbishop.

Mr. White said that the cable was sent shortly before he was withdrawn from his post by President Ronald Reagan in early 1981. He said that he was unaware when, if any, additional information out the alleged meeting was reported later.

"It was the beginning, it seemed to me, of the building of the case or cases on violence regarding d'Aubuisson," he said. "It was really the first thing that confirmed what we already knew

but couldn't prove." In the last several years, Mr. White has often referred to Mr. d'Aubuisson as a "pathological killer."

However, the State Department said last week that allegations of involvement in the slaying by Mr. d'Aubuisson have not been substantiated and that little "hard evidence" exists. The comments came in response to the Reagan administration's decision to grant him a visa to visit the United States.

The Carter administration, in which Mr. White served as ambassador, would not allow Mr. d'Aubuisson into the United States. When he slipped in almost three years ago, he was expelled.

When asked about the cables Thursday, a State Department spokeswoman responded, "It is not our practice to discuss alleged classified material." The cable information was described by one source as "golden nuggets" that, if properly mined, could resolve the archbishop's murder and also shed light on El Salvador's notorious rightist death squads.

But, the sources who disclosed the existence of the cables said that they knew of no follow-up investigation in the case by either the State Department or the Central Intelligence Agency. The cables have caused a lot of "winning of hands and gnashing of teeth" in Washington, he said, because of the obvious foreign policy dilemma they pose for the United States.

According to a highly critical congressional report issued last September, the CIA — which has the resources and the mandate to investigate information on violence by Salvadoran rightists — has not done so.

The report contended that U.S. intelligence agencies had displayed a "lack of sustained attention" to the assassination. Moreover, it said, the agencies had "virtually ignored" a series of documents that Mr. White and others say prove Mr. d'Aubuisson's involvement in the slaying.

Heavily edited by the agencies it criticized, the report was published by the staff of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Evaluation of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelli-

Algeria	6.00	Den.	1.00	15	18.00	Norway	5.50	NZ\$	1.00
Argentina	17.5	Dr.	1.00	120.00	Peru	5.00	Rs.	1.00	50.00
Australia	0.250	Doll.	1.00	450	Rw.	1.00	Sh.	1.00	95
Bahamas	27	B.	1.00	1.00	S. Afr.	1.00	Rand	1.00	60
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Costa Rica	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Czechoslovakia	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Denmark	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Egypt	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Finland	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
France	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Germany	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Greece	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Great Britain	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Guatemala	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Hong Kong	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
India	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Indonesia	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Italy	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Japan	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Korea	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Malaysia	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Mexico	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Netherlands	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Norway	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Philippines	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Poland	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Portugal	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Romania	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Saudi Arabia	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
South Africa	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Spain	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Sweden	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Switzerland	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Taiwan	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Thailand	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Turkey	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
U.S.	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
U.K.	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
USSR	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Venezuela	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66
Yugoslavia	0.02	1.00	1.00	1.00	Sw.	1.00	Kr.	1.00	4.66

## U.S. Survey Finds Public Opposed to Reagan's Hard Line

By Leslie H. Gelb  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The American people tend to accept President Ronald Reagan's description of the Soviet threat but reject his strategy for meeting it, according to the latest New York Times-CBS News poll.

By about 5 to 3, those interviewed saw the Soviet Union as a growing threat as well as an immediate danger, but by an even bigger margin of 5 to 2 the respondents felt that the U.S. arms buildup would result only in a further increase of Soviet arms and not in serious negotiations.

The public's approach to preventing nuclear war and reducing nuclear arms, according to the poll, was to seek a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons rather than an American military buildup. This idea was supported by a margin of 64 percent to 25 percent.

The poll of 1,489 adults, from April 7 to April 11, was taken as Mr. Reagan made a series of speeches portraying the Soviet Union as the "focus of evil" with superior military might and urging support for a record-breaking Pentagon budget request and his strategy of arming to negotiate arms control.

While other recent polls pointed to Mr. Reagan holding his own or increasing his overall approval rating, the Times-CBS News findings showed the president with his lowest rating ever on foreign policy. The shift since the last poll in January is modest, from 39 percent approving and 38 percent disapproving, to 34 percent approving and 37 percent disapproving, but it is there.

According to a White House aide, this result corresponded to private surveys conducted for the president. These could add weight to the warnings of James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, and Michael K. Deaver, the deputy chief of staff, that foreign policy could become a political liability and that Mr. Reagan should soften his image in that area.

Robert M. Teeter, a public opinion expert with ties to Mr. Baker, read the picture this way: "It indicates that the public is attempting to discriminate between an overall judgment and a foreign policy judgment. It also shows the president may have laid the groundwork to convince people later on that his approach is the right one."

The latter point, that Mr.

Reagan's hard-line track is the right one and that he can carry the public with him if he persists, has been advanced by William P. Clark, Mr. Reagan's national security adviser, and Edwin Meese 3d, the White House counselor.

The drop in overall foreign policy approval is strongest among those 45 years and older. In January, this group approved by a margin of 38 percent to 35 percent; now, they broke at 37-percent approval and 42-percent disapproval. The decline in support is also bigger among the lower-income and less-educated respondents. Women are more negative by a considerable margin than men, as they were before. This time men were divided, with 41 percent approving, 36 percent disapproving, and women split, with 28 percent approving and 37 percent disapproving.

Also of potential significance, Republicans showed a sharp drop in approval from 59 percent to 46 percent. This decline in support by people who identified themselves as Republicans was the largest in answers to other foreign policy questions as well.

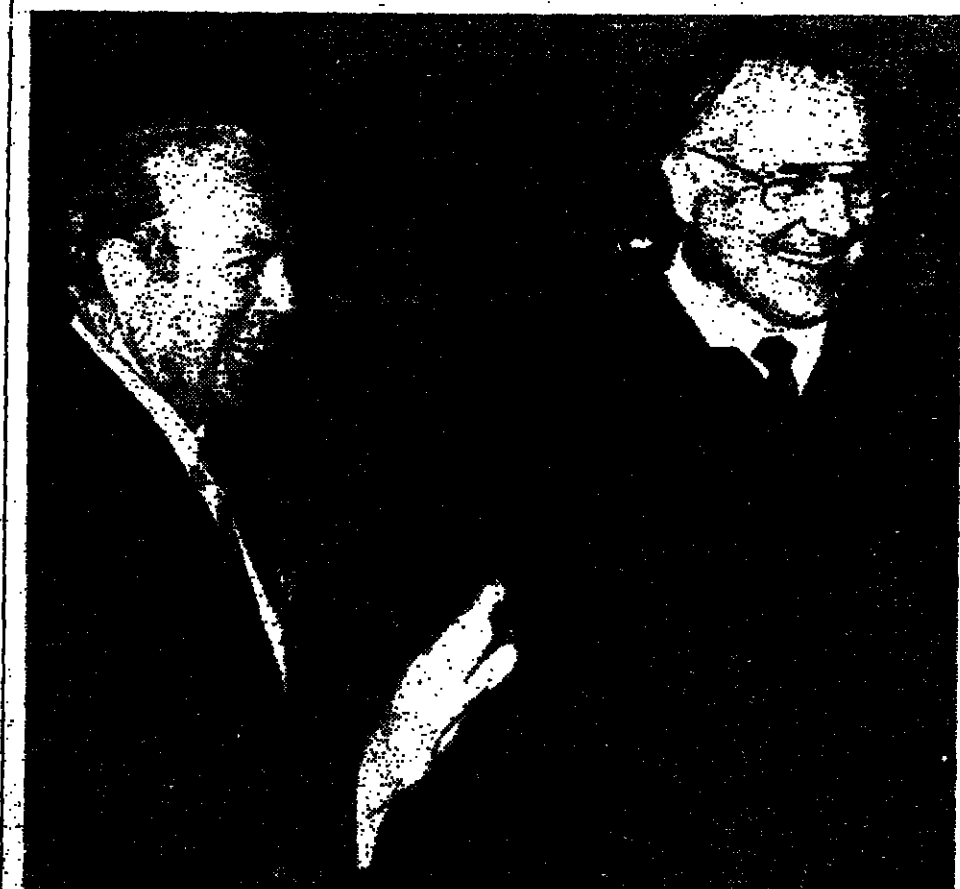
There was also a large increase in the percentage of those who said yes when asked, "Regardless of your overall opinion of him, are you afraid Ronald Reagan might get us into a war?" Forty percent said yes now as against 34 percent in January. Women accounted for most of the increase, going from 39 to 49 percent saying yes.

Also noteworthy was the percentage of people citing some foreign policy issue as the country's most important problem. Since last fall, this number has doubled to about 13 percent. But this remained far below the 67 percent who listed matters like unemployment and the domestic economy.

Essentially, the Times-CBS News survey and other recent assessments of public opinion indicate that people find Mr. Reagan convincing when he speaks of the Soviet menace, and yet find themselves more worried about Mr. Reagan himself at the same time. In other words, majorities of those polled seemed to see him as a good story and a questionable, even dangerous, strategist.

Mr. Reagan has explained his basic strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union as follows: Moscow is militarily superior to the United States, so Washington must increase military spending sharply to

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WELCOME IN WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George P. Shultz, left, greeted Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany on Friday at the Washington Monument. President Ronald Reagan and Mr. Kohl discussed deployment of missiles in Western Europe on the chancellor's one-day visit to Washington. Page 2.

## New Arms Control Director Seeks Truce With Foes in U.S. Congress

By Bernard D. Nossiter  
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — With his three-month battle to win confirmation as U.S. arms control director at an end, Kenneth L. Adelman, looking worn but relieved, says he is eager to make peace in Congress.

At a news conference Thursday at the U.N. Mission, where he has been deputy director, Mr. Adelman said he would set a date next week to meet with every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which voted in late February against recommending his confirmation. He said he wanted "to seek their continued counsel."

He added that he also planned to meet every senator and congressman interested in arms control, because these issues "must be bipartisan to be effective."

Mr. Adelman made an indirect reference to accusations during his confirmation hearings that he planned to conduct a purge of the Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency. "I will certainly work very closely with people in ACDA," he said. "I have found them to be highly qualified and top-notch professionals."

He is expected to fill some vacancies, however, and he would not say whether he might create a few new ones. But he said, "I hope the turmoil in personnel is behind us."

He said he saw his own role as a relatively modest one — a back-room adviser to administration decision-makers, not a publicized negotiator of arms agreements.

During his three-month wait, he said, President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and William P. Clark, the president's national security adviser, demonstrated that they all "value and treasure my counsel." That, he said, helped him through a hard time.

Mr. Adelman spoke into a forest of microphones with the caution of a man who had just had a narrow escape. In his U.N. office, he was usually found in shirt-sleeves, talking in a breezy, colloquial and enthusiastic manner.

The Senate committee worried about his youth — he will be 37 in June — and that provided his only stab at humor at his news conference. "There are those who have said I'm a little young for the job," he said. "But let me assure you I don't feel very young anymore."

As for his background, he said, "I feel experienced enough to handle these issues." At the United Nations he has been the mission's specialist on arms control and has written articles for academic journals on the issue.

On nuclear matters, Mr. Adelman echoed administration positions. He said he sought "an arms-control package based on quantity, enhanced stability, a real reduction of nuclear weapons" and agreements that are verifiable.

Asked if he would like to spare Europe the deployment of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles, he said, "I would feel personally safer if there were no nuclear weapons at all."

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## Reagan, Shultz Defend U.S. Policy on Nicaragua

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has mounted a strong defense of its actions on Nicaragua, with President Ronald Reagan saying he was "complying fully" with a congressional prohibition on activities aimed at overthrowing the country's leftist government and Secretary of State George P. Shultz raising the danger that Nicaragua might be willing to accept deployment of Soviet missiles.

At a brief press conference Thursday, Mr. Reagan acknowledged U.S. support of anti-Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua but said: "Anything we're doing in that area is simply trying to interdict the supply lines which are supplying the [leftist] guerrillas in El Salvador."

But, Mr. Reagan added, "The picture today is that Nicaragua — with its protests that somehow someone is trying to overthrow them — is, as a revolutionary government, trying to overthrow the government of... El Salvador."

Mr. Shultz, in a speech he planned to give Friday in Dallas to the World Affairs Council and the Chamber of Commerce, assailed Soviet-Cuban activities in Nicaragua and said the country had become a base for promoting the establishment of leftist dictatorships in "all of Central America."

"Some of you may not have noticed," he said, that Humberto Ortega Sanguino, Nicaragua's defense minister, "said on April 9 that Nicaragua would consider accepting Soviet missiles if asked."

This was a reference to Mr. Ortega's statement that Nicaragua "will examine the proposal and make our own decision" if the Russians ask the Managua government whether it wants to deploy Soviet missiles.

Earlier, a top official of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Vadim V. Zagladin, had been quoted as suggesting that option if the United States goes ahead with its plan to deploy cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe later this year.

■ **U.S. Using AWACS**  
Lou Cannon and Patrick E. Tyler of The Washington Post reported earlier:

After Mr. Reagan's press conference a top administration official said that "part of the interdiction" Mr. Reagan had referred to was the use of sophisticated Airborne Warning and Control System air-

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President Ronald Reagan at his news conference.

## U.S. Asks Other Arabs To Back Hussein Role

By Oswald Johnston  
Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has publicly called on Arab leaders to support Jordan's participation in peace talks with Israel, amid renewed speculation that the president would soon send Secretary of State George P. Shultz to the Middle East to revive the Sept. 1 peace initiative.

"We do not see the need for delay," the State Department spokesman, John Hughes, said Thursday. "We see the need for action. It is very simple what has to be done."

The issue of whether King Hussein should be given authority to speak for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in talks with Israel on the future of those occupied territories has been "discussed sufficiently," Mr. Hughes said. "There has been enough talk. What is needed is decisions."

Mr. Hughes stressed that Mr. Shultz had not yet ruled out a trip to the region to dramatize Mr. Reagan's belief that his initiative was still alive despite Hussein's declaration Sunday that he would no longer participate. But Mr. Hughes also underlined another main strand in current administration thinking, that it is up to the Arabs to act in support of the U.S. plan if they really favor it.

"We have made our point clear," Mr. Hughes said. "We are looking to others for movement now."

He and other administration officials have named Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Egypt, Sudan and Lebanon as clearly ready to support Jordan's taking part in talks. The problem continues to be the Palestine Liberation Organization, pressed primarily by Syria to stick with a refusal to deal in any way with Israel.

State Department Middle East specialists, who several months ago urged Mr. Shultz to go to the region to press the Reagan initiative on the Arabs and also on Israel, which immediately rejected any proposed territorial compromise, now argue that a trip in the near future would be premature.

"We ought to give them time to sort things out," explained one official, who spoke to reporters on condition that he not be identified.

For instance, these specialists noted that the PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, appears to be embarked on a new round of consultations within the PLO and among Arab governments on how to revive his negotiations with Hussein. An administration official also confirmed that King Hassan II of Morocco, chairman of the Arab League, has offered to intercede

between King Hussein and Mr. Arafat.

But some of Mr. Reagan's White House advisers are said to believe that the United States should be taking action now, if only to offer a public counterpoint to the station in Jerusalem, where Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government is somewhat gleefully writing off the Reagan initiative as a bad idea that met a deserved fate, and in Moscow, where the Soviet Union sees a chance for its renewed involvement in radical Syria to pay off in expanded influence in the region.

Mr. Shultz himself has been asking advice in and out of the State Department, but has given little indication of what he plans to do. He met Mr. Reagan on two occasions Thursday, once at a National Security Council meeting in the morning and later in private session. Aides were certain that the question of a Middle East trip would be addressed.

During a news conference Tuesday, Mr. Shultz had appeared to rule out a commitment of his own at this point by suggesting that it would be a mistake to "equally constructive efforts with visible moves of some kind." He added that "in fact, it may be that the best thing we can do right now is to keep quiet for a while."

But officials later cautioned that Mr. Shultz had no intention of ruling out a Middle East trip if Mr. Reagan decided the time was ripe.

In any case, the State Department's Near East bureau has tentatively blocked out the period between Mr. Shultz's return next Tuesday from a brief visit to Mexico and a May 8 economic meeting in Paris for a Middle East trip.

■ **Delay Seen in Palestinian Talks**  
A Palestinian leadership meeting set for Tunis this weekend to discuss ways of resuming talks with Jordan has been put off until at least Wednesday, Palestinian sources said Friday. Reuters reported from Tunis.

The meeting of all guerrilla leaders and members of the PLO's 14-member executive committee was due to open Thursday, but it was put off when Mr. Arafat left on an official visit to Bulgaria Thursday.

U.K. Expels Soviet Aide

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government expelled Friday a third secretary at the Soviet Embassy in retaliation for the Soviet Union's expulsion of a British air attaché and a Financial Times journalist. The Soviet moves followed the expulsion of three Russians by Britain.

## France to Lift Currency Curb At Year's End

United Press International

PARIS — Currency controls imposed last month on French tourists traveling abroad will be lifted at the end of the year, the Finance Ministry said Friday.

The controls, the most controversial part of an austerity program announced by the government March 25, limit the amount of money a French resident may carry out of France to 2,000 francs in foreign currency and 1,000 francs in French currency — a total of about \$410.

Finance Minister Jacques Delors told Swiss officials during a visit to Switzerland with President François Mitterrand that the government would lift the controls Dec. 31. This was confirmed Friday by the Finance Ministry. Switzerland and Austria have protested the controls as protectionist measures that could seriously damage their tourist industries by curtailing French travel.

Officials had indicated the curbs would last just long enough to revive the economy, but until Friday no expiration date had been announced.

## In Italy, a Declining Newspaper and a Riddle Paese Sera Struggles to Survive After Mysterious Owners 'Disappear'

By Henry Tanner  
International Herald Tribune

ROME — When the Communist Party sells a newspaper operation, who buys it? And why would the unknown buyer try to close it permanently a little more than a year later? Those are the latest of Rome's mysteries.

Paese Sera, one of the capital's most widely read and best-edited dailies, had been owned by the Communist Party since its founding in 1943, after the arrival of the Allies, through a company called Rinnovamento.

In the fall of 1981, when the paper was losing money at the rate of 450 million lire (about \$



## Reagan and Kohl End Talks With Pledge on U.S. Missile Strategy

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany wound up what was described as a very constructive meeting Friday with a pledge of renewed efforts in the Geneva arms talks with the Soviet Union and a promise that new U.S. missiles would be deployed on schedule in Europe if an arms agreement is not reached.

Mr. Reagan said after the meeting that Mr. Kohl had renewed his "strong endorsement" of the U.S. negotiating posture, adding that the allies were "united on deployment according to schedule."

Mr. Kohl said he and Mr. Reagan had agreed that the recent U.S. interim arms reduction proposal "offers a basis for flexible and dynamic negotiations." He added that he did not believe that the Soviet rejection of the proposal was the Russians' last word.

Later, senior U.S. officials quoted Mr. Kohl as telling Mr. Reagan: "If there is no agreement in Geneva we will do what we promised to do."

The officials said Mr. Kohl stressed very strongly in his talks with Secretary of State George P. Shultz Thursday night, with Vice President George Bush at breakfast Friday and with Mr. Reagan that there should be no change in the timetable for deployment.

They said Mr. Kohl called the missile deployment "the means by which the Soviet Union would be brought to negotiate seriously." The officials also said Mr. Kohl had strongly stated that Pershing-2 missiles should be deployed as well as cruise missiles.

Later Allen Wallace, a State Department official, indicated that the United States had dropped plans to bring up controversial plans to limit East-West trade at the Williamsburg, Virginia, summit next month. European officials had expressed the fear that new U.S. efforts to limit sales of Western technology to the Soviet bloc would destroy the summit. Mr. Kohl told reporters that he and the president "agreed on the need for continued efforts toward a common approach to East-West economic relations."

Mr. Wallace also said that Mr. Kohl told Mr. Reagan he planned to visit Moscow later this year to advise the Soviet Union that West Germany was, and planned to remain, firmly in the Western alliance.

The spokesman said Mr. Reagan told Mr. Kohl that he would meet with Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, only in a constructive, well-prepared summit with a prospect of real results, but that he rejected a quick introductory meeting because it would raise false hopes.

Mr. Kohl said later, "We are agreed that personal contact with leaders of the Soviet Union continues to be important" in "developing constructive relations between East and West."

Officials said the two men also discussed a follow-up to the Madrid meeting on European security and linked agreement on a European disarmament conference, greatly desired by the Soviet Union, with a dialogue on human rights, which is strongly supported by the West.

In his meeting with reporters, Mr. Kohl implied such a linkage when he said "we will strive for early substantive results, including agreement on a conference on disarmament in Europe and progress in the area of human rights."

## Mitterrand Seeks Improvement in Ties With Russia

BERN — President François Mitterrand of France said Friday that he hoped French-Soviet relations, damaged by last week's expulsion of 47 Soviet diplomats and officials, would improve. The relationship between Paris and Moscow, he said, is indispensable to East-West balance.

At a press conference at the end of a two-day official visit to Switzerland, Mr. Mitterrand shrugged off an increasingly strident Soviet press campaign against France.

He repeated an earlier statement that the Russians were expelled only for spying and that the move was not intended to have any adverse effect on relations between Paris and Moscow. Any country that found foreign functionaries spying on its soil would do as France did, he added.

Mr. Mitterrand, the first French head of state to visit Switzerland in 73 years, was met on arrival Thursday by newspaper editors critical of France's austerity measures and alleged trade protectionism. However, the president's pledge that France would be a good neighbor to Switzerland appeared to have overcome initial Swiss coolness.

## Twice As Much Art for Your Money

WASHINGTON — Flounder rushed into Bass office at the State Department and cried. "The secretary wants a side presentation on the elections in Ecuador to show to the American people."

"I anticipated that," said Bass. "I've been putting one together. Sit down."

This is the Garcia family, which lives in Miami and which is the subject of a new book by the author of "The Hunt for the Assassins of the World."

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CHANGE OF COMMAND — General Bernard W. Rogers, the NATO commander, center, passed the colors of the U.S. Army in Europe from General Frederick J. Kroesen, right, to General Glenn K. Otis in a ceremony Friday in Heidelberg. General Kroesen is retiring after 40 years of service. General Otis last served as commander of the Training and Doctrine Command at Fort Monroe, Virginia.

## Reagan Soviet Policy Is Rejected in Survey

(Continued from Page 1)

Even Republicans divided 50 percent to 33 percent against the Reagan strategy.

Among the 50 percent of those interviewed who considered themselves well informed or somewhat informed on the negotiations with Moscow, Mr. Reagan's strategies fared somewhat better.

On Soviet superiority, the Times-CBS News poll showed that the public backs the president. In January, 11 percent thought the United States superior, 47 percent said military power was equal, and 32 percent said the United States was weaker.

In the latest poll, the breakdown was 12 percent United States superior, 36 percent equal, and 42 percent believing America was weaker.

The Times and CBS News did not ask about support for increased military spending in the poll. But a survey last fall done by Gallup for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations showed a 10-percent drop in those favoring larger military budgets and a corresponding increase in those favoring cuts.

The Times-CBS News poll asked whether Mr. Reagan was sincere about arms control or was just using his proposals "to quiet his critics." By 49 percent to 38 percent, they responded he "really means it."

But when asked whether the "military buildup will convince the Soviet Union to negotiate seriously about arms control" or whether "a U.S. buildup will make the Soviet Union want to produce more weapons rather than negotiate," 27 percent said the approach would work and 56 percent said Moscow would simply produce more arms.

There was, however, a modest increase in those who believed that economic aid should be provided to El Salvador. From 10 percent last March to 17 percent now, and those saying Washington should stay out of El Salvador dropped from 63 percent to 57 percent.

But the depth of this judgment appeared limited. Just 11 percent would increase military aid to El Salvador, while 30 percent wanted it decreased, and 47 percent kept the same.

There was, however, a modest increase in those who believed that economic aid should be provided to El Salvador. From 10 percent last March to 17 percent now, and those saying Washington should stay out of El Salvador dropped from 63 percent to 57 percent.

## Adelman Will Meet Legislators

(Continued from Page 1)

was a complete elimination of this entire class of weapons." But he was quick to suggest that Mr. Reagan was flexible, that "we're willing to go for interim measures," to trade undeveloped medium-range missiles for scrapped Soviet SS-20s.

One questioner noted that Mr. Adelman had been pictured as a hawk. "I've had dealings with a hawk. I've had two years in New York," he replied. "They're acquainted with my work at the UN. I've found it possible to discuss and negotiate with them."

Mr. Adelman, educated at Grinnell College in Iowa, has a doctorate in African studies from Georgetown University. He has written articles on Africa, arms and other foreign policy questions.

Under President Richard M. Nixon he worked in the Office of Economic Opportunity, the anti-poverty agency, then left for two years of study and travel in Africa.

■ **Tass Criticizes Adelman**

The Soviet news agency Tass said Friday that Mr. Adelman's appointment proved that Washington intended to hamper arms reduction talks as much as possible, United Press International reported from Moscow.

The nomination was a sign that the "White House intends to thwart completely the process of arms control and to gain a free hand for the further runaway escalation of war preparations," Tass said. It called Mr. Adelman an "outright hawk and opponent of measures to curb the arms race."

## Jewish Aide To Reagan Quits Post As Gulf Talks on Spill Break Up

By Michael Gerler  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Albert A. Spiegel, a longtime supporter of President Ronald Reagan who served for the past two years as a presidential adviser on matters of concern to the Jewish community, has abruptly resigned his volunteer post.

Mr. Spiegel declined to discuss the reasons for his decision Thursday. But he acknowledged that it had to do "in part" with an article in The Wall Street Journal the same morning.

According to the article, Mr. Spiegel reportedly told King Hussein of Jordan that he is going to lose the Jewish vote in 1984 by pressing for a Middle East peace plan that Israel opposes, but he still feels he can be re-elected.

Senior administration officials said that Mr. Spiegel had resigned because he was upset at the article. But these officials denied that Mr. Spiegel had said anything to King Hussein about "the Jewish vote."

Mr. Spiegel, one said, "has never said anything like that, and anyone who knows the president would find that out of character."

Mr. Spiegel is a Los Angeles businessman who worked in Mr. Reagan's campaign for governor of California in 1966 and served as a vice chairman of his 1980 presidential campaign.

Mr. Spiegel said that aside from the report, there were other "procedural as well as programmatic" reasons for his departure. But he declined to be any more specific, saying that he "had and hopes to still have a cordial relationship" with the president, who he said he "admires and respects."

■ **Report Called 'Outrageous'**

Larry M. Speakes, the deputy White House press secretary, quoted Mr. Reagan as saying the statement attributed to him about the Jewish vote was "outrageous."

United Press International reported, "He was frankly appalled that such a statement would be attributed to him," Mr. Speakes said.

Mr. Spiegel in the last several months has indicated a desire "to devote full time to his personal affairs," Mr. Speakes added.

## Iran and Iraq Trade Accusations As Gulf Talks on Spill Break Up

delegates at the talks, was going home Friday.

Iraq offered a limited cease-fire in the slick area but Iran said it wanted explicit safe-conduct for the repair crews. Iran has said the wells were hit by Iraqi fire but the Iraqis claim only one Iranian well is leaking and that it was damaged by accident.

Renewed heavy fighting this week between Iran and Iraq had dimmed hopes for a formula to allow repair crews to begin work.

Mr. Ghani said that Saudi Arabia and its Gulf allies had drawn up a plan for an immediate capping of the wells and creation of a noncombat zone, under the auspices of an international body, in the area of the slick.

"But Iran rejected those terms," Mr. Ghani said, "and it refused to cease fire."

The Iranian news agency quoted President Ali Khamenei as saying Friday that his country would try to cap the leak and that other

## Walesa Plans More Talks With Union

**Would Evade Police To Meet Underground**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
WARSAW — Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity union, said Friday he planned to repeat last weekend's meeting with officials of the union who have gone underground.

Mr. Walesa, speaking to a reporter for a U.S. television network, said, "I am planning to meet the underground again. Asked how he would manage this, he replied, 'I have done it before and can do it the same way as last time.' He said he was sure he could avoid being followed."

Mr. Walesa spoke to the reporter as he waited outside the provincial police headquarters in Gdansk where his driver, Mieczyslaw Wachowski, was taken for questioning earlier in the day.

Mr. Walesa and his wife, Danuta, were questioned at the police station this week after Mr. Walesa issued a statement Tuesday announcing last weekend's meeting with Solidarity's "provisional coordinating commission." The couple said they had refused to answer police questions.

The committee is composed of five union leaders who escaped capture after the declaration of martial law on Dec. 13, 1981. They have waged an underground campaign for restoration of the independent labor movement, which was outlawed in October.

There also was no official response to the committee's statement calling for demonstrations on May 1, the first appeal for street rallies since martial law was suspended at the end of December.

The appeal was issued after the secret weekend meeting, but Mr. Walesa did not sign it. He said, however, that his action did not mean he was dissociating himself from it. Asked Friday whether he would take part in any May Day demonstration himself, Mr. Walesa said he believed the authorities would prevent him from doing this.

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak has said the authorities are prepared for what he called "an explosion" in early May.

The Communist Party daily, Trybuna Ludu, reported Friday that security police Wednesday seized a transmitter used to broadcast the clandestine Radio Solidarity. Several people were detained, the newspaper said.

The radio, which has transmitted more than a dozen times in the capital, was last heard on March 31, when the announcer painted a gloomy picture of Poland's economic prospects and appealed to people to maintain faith in Solidarity.

Meanwhile, the government enforced tight security regulations in Warsaw, apparently in fear of a terrorist attack against visitors to the Solidarity headquarters in the Ghetto uprising of World War II.

About 1,000 foreign visitors are expected in the capital to mark the 40th anniversary of the ghetto revolt on Tuesday.

## French Interns Warned on Strike

PARIS (Reuters) — A crisis in France's medical profession intensified Friday as officials warned that doctors in university hospitals would be ordered back to work if they stopped providing emergency services.

"I will not tolerate zero service," Edmond Hervé, the secretary of state for health, said at a press conference as a strike by 8,500 interns in teaching hospitals entered into its fourth week. Mr. Hervé said the strikers could face dismissal, while hospital directors would be held legally responsible for maintaining emergency services.

Doctors interrupted normal services March 22 to protest medical reforms that they would reduce access to private practice and teaching after years in poorly paid specialist training.

## China Bans KLM From Canton

AMSTERDAM (AP) — China has banned the Dutch airline KLM from using Canton as an alternative or bad weather airport in an apparent protest against the start of direct air services between Taiwan and the Netherlands, a KLM spokesman said Friday.

The Chinese air authorities told us of the decision via operational channels a few days ago," a KLM spokesman said. "We assume it is because of the new air agreement with Taiwan." The Dutch airline flew its first flight to Taiwan under the agreement last Saturday. KLM does not fly directly to destinations in China, but Canton was previously listed as a bad weather airport for its Hong Kong-bound flights.

Meanwhile, in Beijing, aviation sources said Friday that China has warned the United States of "severe repercussions" if Pan American World Airways goes ahead with its announced decision to resume flights to Taiwan in June. Pan Am is the only U.S. airline with passenger service to China.

## Hungary Reaffirms Innovations

BUDAPEST (UPI) — Hungary's ruling Communist Party renewed support Friday for the country's innovative economic system, in which private enterprise and new forms of state-backed small businesses are playing an increasing role.

But the party also criticized opposition on both ends of the political spectrum in a 35-page resolution adopted at the end of a two-day meeting of its Central Committee. The session was held Tuesday and Wednesday.

The resolution did not announce any changes in the political leadership. One political source said Janos Kadar, the party chief, vetoed the replacement of Gyorgy Lazar, the ailing prime minister, because the political timing was too delicate.

## EC to Block Aid to U.S. Companies

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — The European Community Commission announced Friday that it was starting legal proceedings against France and Britain over planned aid to U.S. firms.

A community spokesman said that the action concerned France's planned aid of 34.5 million francs (about \$5 million) to an American firm, and Britain's plans to give another U.S. firm almost £20 million (\$30 million) in aid.

Both countries have been given four weeks to explain why the aid should not be blocked by the EC. The challenge to Britain concerned plans to provide the Fyter fork-lift truck company with £9.5 million in aid to expand its plant in Scotland and £10 million to support a training program at the plant.

France has programmed aid for the Timex watch company to set up a plant at Besançon, in the eastern part of the country.

## Kreisky Says Israel Blocks Talks

VIENNA (Reuters) — Chancellor Bruno Kreisky described Israel Friday as one of the world's biggest troublemakers and said Israeli government policy was playing into the hands of Arab radicals.

The chancellor, a campaigner for Middle East peace since the early 1970s, said at a news conference that the position of moderates within the Palestine Liberation Organization was getting weaker because they had failed to get any response to their calls for negotiations.

"The Israeli government is playing into the hands of all the radical Arabs within and outside the PLO because they refuse negotiations as much as the Arabs do," he said. "It must be clear to everybody that Israel is one of the biggest troublemakers in the world."

## Argentina Restores Rights to 19

BUENOS AIRES (UPI) — Argentina's military junta has restored the rights to participate in politics to 19 political and labor leaders, including the former president, Isabel Perón.

The action Thursday was a first step toward the end of eight years of military rule and fulfillment of the junta's pledge to permit a free and open campaign before new elections Oct. 30.

Although the announcement would permit Mrs. Perón to return to Argentina, it apparently would still bar her from holding office because she was convicted of misusing government funds while she was president. She was overthrown March 24, 1976, and spent five years under house arrest before obtaining permission to go into self-imposed exile in Spain in 1981.

## Turkey Warns of U.S. Arms Cuts

ISTANBUL (Reuters) — The prime minister of Turkey, Bulent Ulusu, said Friday that any cut in the proposed U.S. military aid to his country next year would adversely affect the NATO alliance.

Newspapers here reported that the U.S. Congress was likely to cut \$740 million worth of military assistance requested by the White House for Turkey in 1984. Mr. Ulusu said the amount was the minimum required by Turkey within the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The military aid requested for Turkey represented the biggest increase recommended by the United States for any country in the world, up from \$450 million last year.

## Turkish Plane Hijacked to Athens

ATHENS (UPI) — A Turkish Airlines plane with 113 persons aboard was hijacked on a domestic flight Friday and forced to land in Athens by a man armed with a knife and a bottle purportedly containing explosive material, officials said.

Later in the evening, the hijacker released 53 passengers and began negotiations with Marshall Lewis Johnston, the Australian ambassador to Greece. The hijacker, whose nationality was not known, claimed to belong to a leftist organization but did not identify it.

Transportation Minister Nicolas Kiriakidis said the man demanded that the Boeing 727 be refueled for a flight to Sydney and asked to speak to Australian officials. The Turkish Airlines jet, carrying 106 passengers and a crew of seven, was seized over the Aegean Sea on a flight from Istanbul to Izmir.

## For the Record

NEW YORK (UPI) — Two explosions and a fire triggered by a propane gas tank ripped through the top floors of the 39-story UN Plaza Hotel on Friday, shattering windows and sending intense flames and black smoke skyward. No injuries were reported.

LUBECK, West Germany (Reuters) — About 150 Lübeck doctors have signed a declaration that they will not prescribe drugs made by the Swiss multinational Hoffmann-La Roche, a spokesman for the group said Friday. A spokesman said the doctors' faith in the company had been shattered by what he called its refusal to say where 41 barrels of dioxin waste from Italy were being stored.

CORRECTION: A Washington Post story in Friday's International Herald Tribune erroneously reported that a proposed amendment to the before pursuing a freeze. The amendment did not make prior reductions a condition of seeking a freeze.

## Rome Paper's Ownership a Riddle

(Continued from Page 1)

publicity, which under the direction of its imaginative editor, Eugenio Scalfari, catered to the hard-core of radical chic that had formed the readership of Paese Sera, along with simpler folk in the poorer quarters of the city. La Repubblica soon became the leading paper for that part of Rome's reading public.

■ **Manifesto, a much smaller leftist paper, also is fighting for survival and appealing to the public for financial support.**

Founded 20 years ago by a group of Communist intellectuals who left the party and now form their own group in Parliament, Il Manifesto is a journal of opinion aimed at a small special audience and has always operated on a shoestring. Its contributors and handful of editors often go without pay.

Early this year it applied for government subsidies citing a recent law under which the government can provide newsprint for five years to a newspaper in trouble to help it meet the cost of converting to modern printing technology. When the government did not pay, Il Manifesto went to court and won its case in February. But the subsidies have not been forthcoming.

On April 7, Il Manifesto, which normally sells for about 35 cents, charged the equivalent of \$8 a copy in a publicized fund-raising campaign, and for that day, nearly doubled its circulation to about 40,000. On the front page it printed a box with a message of good wishes from President Sandro Pertini, a Socialist.

The Il Manifesto case is due for debate in Parliament.

So is the case of Radio Radicale, a private radio station sponsored by the Radical Party, a group that ranges through much of the political spectrum from left to right.

Radio Radicale's specialty is to broadcast parliamentary debates live and in full. Since many of the debates are not exactly expressions of high-level statesmanship, the practice is not at all popular with











## ARTS / LEISURE

# Boston's Japanese Works Welcomed in Tokyo

By Christine Chapman  
International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Thousands of Japanese have been pouring into the Tokyo National Museum to see some of their own rare art. Called "an outstanding showing" by the Japan Times, the exhibition, "Japanese Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," includes 80 paintings gathered in Japan 100 years ago and not seen here since the early Meiji period (1868-1912).

Japanese turned their aesthetic eye to the West. At that time during the early Meiji era the Japanese thought their art inferior to that of the West. Considering it obsolete, they ignored it and even sought to destroy it. As Fenollosa arrived in

Japan, pro-Shinto groups were purging Buddhist temples of traditional paintings, scrolls, scriptures and mandalas, because the government had ordered the separation of temples and shrines that had formerly shared the same precincts.

Fenollosa, with Bigelow, a Boston doctor, and the Japanese art critic Kakuzo Okakura, saved hundreds of works of art from destruction or indifference.

In 1878, when he was 25, the Harvard-educated Fenollosa came to Japan to lecture in political philosophy at the University of Tokyo. There, many foreigners, including Fenollosa's friend Lafcadio Hearn, were teaching Japanese students the ideas of the West.

During university holidays the young American traveled throughout the country buying valuable forgotten pieces. He learned that no public art museums existed and little was written in English on Japanese art. He also discovered that the Meiji government did not even know what art treasures there were in the country. Fenollosa documented what he found. In 1882 the government asked him to do this work full-time, and in 1884 he was appointed commissioner of fine arts for the Japanese empire. He is credited as "the very discoverer of Japanese art for Japan," according to poet Yone Noguchi, who so-called a bust of the American.

Fenollosa was not entirely unselfish. According to a Japan Times article, in 1884 he wrote to his Boston friend Edward Morse, another art lover: "I have bought a number of the very greatest treasures secretly. The Japanese as yet do not know I have them. I wish I could see them all safely housed forever in the Boston Art Museum."

While the government was formulating a law to restrict the export of ancient art, Fenollosa sold his collection of more than 1,000 paintings to Dr. Weld of Boston, creating what is now known as the

Fenollosa-Weld Collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Together again in Japan with the Bigelow group, the paintings provide an array of Japanese art from religious paintings of the 12th-century Heian period to genre pictures of beautiful courtesans and lippy picnickers of the 19th-century Edo and Meiji periods.

Even the familiar mannered style of the ukiyo-e art in the final rooms becomes fresh again in this imaginative exhibition. The exhibition shows the wit as well as the reverence of the Japanese artists, as one walks from portraits of gods and saints to admired animals to scenes of ordinary people. One screen, done in *sumi*, or black ink, depicts a "Hero Facing a Hurricane."

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Wifredo Lam's "L'Indésirable," painted in 1962.

## Wifredo Lam: Picasso's Chicken

By Michael Gibson  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Wifredo Lam, a tall, slim, brown-skinned young man of Cuban and Chinese parentage, rang the door of Pablo Picasso's apartment one afternoon in 1938 with a letter of recommendation from a mutual friend. Picasso received him with warmth, advised him to admire African art, offered him a glass of calvados (which Lam would not drink at first, thinking it was turpentine) and invited him to stay for dinner.

Lam, then 36, recalled that Picasso ordered a whole large chicken for him, which he devoured, bones and all, "because I had a terrific appetite and for quite a while I had not been able to satisfy it."

When Lam took his leave Picasso made a remark to the effect that Lam reminded him of someone he had known. The meeting worked on Lam like a detonator and he began painting without pause and without daring to show his work to anyone, least of all to Picasso, who with sensitive discretion refrained from showing any curiosity about Lam's lonely work.

One day, however, Lam took a desperate resolution and arrived at Picasso's flat loaded down with canvases. Picasso was taking a bath and the studio was filled with people. Picasso had Lam come into the bathroom and started a conversation, but after a moment he sensed Lam's tension and probably guessed what it was about. He got out of the bath and draped himself in an enormous towel like a toga; Lam said that he reminded him of a Roman god, an association all the more plausible since he was awaiting his divine judgment.

Picasso looked at all the paintings with an enigmatic smile, then he laid his arm on Lam's shoulder and said: "I was never mistaken about you. You're a painter. That's why, when we first met, I said that you reminded me of another man: myself."

Wifredo Lam died last year and an exhibition at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris that was intended to honor his 80th birthday has by his death become a posthumous retrospective.

The show includes only four works prior to Lam's encounter with Picasso. They show solid if conventional craftsmanship and confirm, if necessary, that the meeting with Picasso was crucial. But what Picasso said was also true in another sense than the one he intended. Lam's work bore for many years the deep imprint of the impressive man in the bath towel. It is quite clear that Lam was a real and gifted painter, but he only em-

erged very gradually from the shadow of the older artist. His return to Cuba in 1942, his acceptance of a certain Caribbean climate and spiritual heritage, including the synthesis of African and European beliefs and practices, as part of his own natural idiom, finally led to a mature art with a depth and intensity of its own.

Lam discovered African art thanks to Picasso and to Michel Leiris, who thus gave recognition to an aesthetic form. As for the content, Lam found it in his own roots, for instance in the person of Maité Wilson, his godmother, an imposing black matron who practiced magic and introduced him to the little spirits who populate the Caribbean night-world.

Lam's later paintings show these strange, symbolically linked quasi-African spirits, soaring and swooping in a brown night, and they are essentially a transposition into a Western idiom of the deep, secret world that lurked in the folk beliefs and practices to which the world of "culture" paid little attention at the time.

Lam's life and work is consequently a very modern adventure, because it shows how one man resolved the question of who he was in a world of unpredictable cultural cross-currents.

Wifredo Lam, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 11 Avenue du Président Wilson, Paris 16, to May 22.

The Institut Néerlandais is showing a selection of about 100 paintings by lesser Dutch masters of the 17th century from the Fritz Lugt collection. The exhibition is full of familiar charm and does not really require critical comment. The quality is even and excellent but never transcendent. Its success no doubt arises in part out of the fact that almost anyone would probably be pleased to have one of these paintings in his home.

Institut Néerlandais, 121 Rue de Lille, Paris 7, to April 30.

The Musée Rodin is offering a show entitled "De Carpeaux à Matisse." The title is impressive and promising, but the small print says that it is devoted to "French sculpture from 1850 to 1914 from the museums and public collections of northern France." There are some interesting and familiar pieces by Rodin, a few works by Camille Claudel, sister of the poet and dramatist Paul Claudel, whose career began with astonishing force, leading her to become Rodin's pupil, inspiration and companion. Their relationship broke off in

1900 and her mental balance was affected. She became a recluse and was confined to a mental hospital from 1913 until her death in 1943. The show also includes a large amount of "official" art, more of historical or sociological than artistic interest. Matisse is represented by only three works: Carpeaux, on the other hand, by 24. The historical and anecdotal interest of the show should no doubt not be overlooked, but this being said, its title clearly promises too much.

"De Carpeaux à Matisse," Musée Rodin, 77 Rue de Varenne, Paris 7, to April 30.

By the end of the first two weeks of the exhibition, which opened March 15, 91,500 visitors had seen the show which is being sponsored by NTV, the Japanese television network, and the Yomiuri newspaper. NTV presented a program of more than two hours on the art and its history preceding the opening. Newspaper articles have praised the exhibition. The show continues at the Tokyo National Museum in Ueno Park until May 8, and moves on May 17 to the Kyoto National Museum, where the paintings will remain until June 26 before returning to Boston.

Two astute American art-lovers, Ernest Fenollosa and William Bigelow, began to collect the paintings in Japan 100 years ago, as the

## Moderns at the Opéra

By David Stevens  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The Paris Opéra Ballet meets American modern dance somewhere in mid-Atlantic in the company's new program of contemporary ballets, featuring first performances of new works done for the Paris company by Alvin Ailey and Andrew de Groot.

Perhaps the meeting place is a bit closer to Paris than in New York, not just because the dancers bring the house style to their tasks, but because Ailey and de Groot seem to have taken both that style and Parisian taste into account in their staging and choreography.

Ailey dedicated his "Au bord du précipice" to Jim Morrison, the American rock musician and singer whose self-destructive life ended in Paris several years ago and who is buried in Père Lachaise cemetery. The dance traces the life and downfall of an unnamed pop star in a series of flamboyant images set to eclectic fusion music by Pat Metheny and Lyle Mays and taped by their group.

Although not choreographically from Ailey's top drawer, it was a brilliant, highly polished spectacle — it would not have been out of place in a Roland Petit season — strongly aided by the expressionist

backdrops and colorful costumes of Carol Vollet Garner and splendidly effective lighting of Chenault Spence. Patrick Dupond sparked as the golden boy surrounded by dope peddlers, groupies, impresarios and miscellaneous layabouts, and Monique Loudières radiated tawdry flamboyance as the symbolic queen of the drugs. It was a resounding hit with the Opéra public.

De Groot's "Nouvelle Lune" has a different French accent, with choreography of sophisticated wit in a series of solos and duets for Wilfride Pliet and Jean Guizien, two of the Opéra's dancers with clear affinities to a modern dance vocabulary. The choreographer (who was also the designer) opened the vast stage back to the *foyer de la danse* and shaped it with lighting and with rising and falling fabric "clouds." In this imaginary landscape, the dancers went through a series of rapidly shifting, turning, accelerating moves and poses, often with an ironic nod in the direction of classical style.

They made a charming series of matched sets to eight of Debussy's Etudes, splendidly played on stage by Georges Pludermacher.

The program, including a revival of Glen Tetley's "Voluntaries," continues April 16, 19, 20 and 22.

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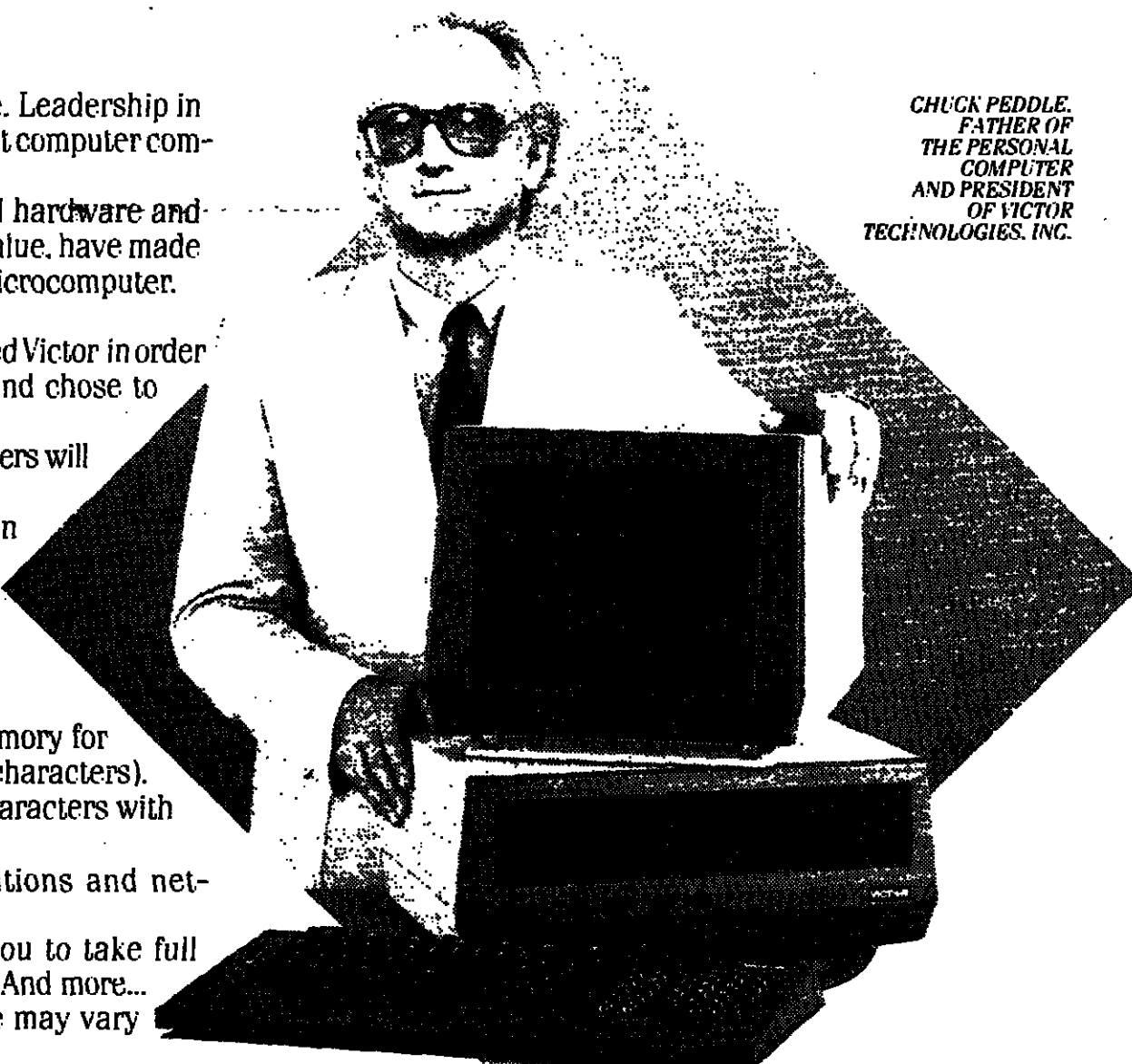
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## Poles Won't Let Go

The Polish government could lock up Lech Walesa again, of course, or arrange to have him run down by a truck, or whatever. But then what? General Jaruzelski must calculate the consequences in terms of the disruption of public order, the loss of any residual claim to the toleration and especially to the willingness to work of the Polish people, and the further deterioration of the country's international standing. It is on all those things that Poland's hope for recovery rests.

The government insists that he is a "private person," but Mr. Walesa remains the most important public person in Poland. It is not simply that journalists focus on an attractive and accessible symbol of Polish striving. He is the authentic leader of a mass movement, Solidarity, which, although banned, lives in people's hearts. The regime cannot effectively govern without dealing with him in some way.

True, it can harass him. The other day police dragged him out of his apartment for five hours. The nightmarish scene was witnessed by Washington Post correspondent Bradley Graham, who happened to be there interviewing Mrs. Walesa, who was herself hauled in the following day. But the regime cannot hold

him or do worse without tempting troubles harsher than those it cannot solve now.

The regime's tormented efforts to relax without relaxing are of a sort familiar to students of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe. Mr. Walesa, however, is inventing a new political style. His purpose is to build a position that would force the government to grant relief to political prisoners and to reintroduce elements of a pluralistic workers' movement. Without Solidarity's former liberties, his tools are his personal ingenuity — he eluded his police tails last weekend, for instance, and met Solidarity's fugitive underground leaders — and his access to the international press.

Mr. Walesa and the government are looking ahead to the scheduled visit of Pope John Paul II in June. Gen. Jaruzelski's desire to demonstrate that the regime has made some definite progress since the darkest martial law days gives Mr. Walesa and others, including Cardinal Glemp, the opportunity to bargain for more. It is a painfully uncertain process, but there is one certain thing about it: Mr. Walesa and the Polish people are not going to let go.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Brazil Deserves Help

The riots in Brazil's largest city are at least as important as other Western Hemisphere conflicts. Brazil is not a domino, it's half a continent. Its stability has been shaken by three years of economic decline, crushing foreign debts and an inflation rate of 10 percent a month. All this coincides with tense effort to move from dictatorship to democracy.

The rioting in São Paulo is an early warning of what can go wrong when austerity is imposed on an already hard-pressed population. At least 770,000 of the 8 million Paulistas are out of work. The Economist magazine reckons that 25 to 30 million Brazilians, of a total 130 million, are underemployed.

In moving toward full elective rule, São Paulo chose a moderate opposition leader, Franco Montoro, as state governor last fall. But imagine his standing as he imposed new hardships to satisfy foreign lenders. To meet conditions set by the International Monetary Fund, Brazil has to slow down economic activity by 2 to 4 percent more.

Brazil's plight cannot be blamed only on imprudent loans and investments. It has been triply beset: by soaring oil prices, by the leap in interest rates and by the global downturn in trade. Rekindling its economy calls for more than conventional IMF medicine, however necessary in the short run.

Some valuable ideas have been offered by William D. Rogers, citing the need for new global arrangements that spread out debt repayments so that austerity measures do not everywhere coincide. He has urged better coordination between IMF and private lending and a new study of exchange rates.

Meanwhile, if the Reagan administration reads the warnings correctly it will give a compelling nudge to Congress to expand the IMF's lending resources. It should also help Brazil to borrow for longer periods at lower rates, persuading commercial banks that the giant country remains a bright promise and sound long-term risk.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### Brzezinski on Europeans

Discussing the acute problems between Washington and its NATO allies, [Zbigniew] Brzezinski points out that this is a perennial problem, not one peculiar to the Reagan administration. But he diagnoses a deeper malaise between Western Europe and the United States today. To the postwar generation America was a "political model," even though Europeans remained true to their own culture. Now the situation is reversed. The younger generation in Europe is "culturally Americanized" (take, for example, Petra Kelly educated in Berkeley); and yet, "politically, it is de-Americanized." It no longer sees America as a political model.

—Hella Pick in The Guardian (London).

### The Races After Chicago

The phenomenal outpouring of black voters which laid the base for Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago is a historic milestone on the road to a full black voice in American public life. It gives black hope that even in the most racially polarized cities they can combine their own solid vote with enough white support to seize victory. The momentum of Mr. Washington's win may help black leaders seeking other key mayoralities, starting with Wilson Goode's Democratic primary contest against former Mayor Frank Rizzo next month in Philadelphia. And the Chicago returns seem conclusive proof that some of the fervor of the civil rights movement of the sixties has been rekindled after a decade in which black voter turnout deteriorated by an average of 20 percent in northern and western states.

—Syndicated columnist Neal R. Peirce.

The best analysis of Harold Washington's dramatic mayoral victory in Chicago came from an elderly black woman interviewed at Mr. Washington's campaign party early Tuesday evening. She was certain he would win, she said, because "there aren't enough white people who hate us enough to turn this Democratic city over to the Republicans."

Mr. Washington defeated Republican Bernard Epton with 52 percent of the vote. He carried virtually 100 percent of the black vote, two-thirds of the Hispanic vote and a critical

20 percent of the white vote. An election with that kind of split — 99 percent of the blacks voting for one candidate, 80 percent of the whites voting for the other — is certainly a case of extreme racial polarization.

Political scientists distinguish between ethnic and racist voting. When 78 percent of Catholics voted for John Kennedy in 1960, their support was not widely regarded as anti-Protestant. Blacks claimed the same legitimacy for their support of Mr. Washington.

Most whites did not see it that way. There is no question about the racist nature of Mr. Epton's campaign or his support. His campaign slogan — "Epton now, before it's too late" — exploited white fear of a black takeover.

The hysteria of the white response can hardly be accounted for by concern over Mr. Washington's past financial indiscretions, or by the charismatic appeal of an obscure, intellectual Jewish liberal. Racism is the reason why Mr. Epton won almost five times as many votes as the previous Republican candidate in a Chicago mayoralty election.

So far, Mr. Washington has pledged to pursue a policy of racial reconciliation.

—William Schneider, the Los Angeles Times.

### Literacy Is Basically Culture

E.D. Hirsch Jr. has spent the past dozen years of his life "pursuing technical research in the teaching of reading and writing" as a way of halting the decline in literacy in America. It was a wasted 12 years, the University of Virginia English professor now believes. The problem wasn't what he thought it was. The decline in literacy, he has concluded, is the result of the decline in the commonly shared knowledge acquired in school. The problem, in short, is not mechanical but cultural.

In earlier, more literate times, America had what amounted to a "national core curriculum" for teaching English. Students everywhere were expected to have read David Copperfield, The Merchant of Venice, Paradise Lost, Silas Marner and other "classics." Just as you can't get far in learning to read and write French without learning something of French culture, he says, American children cannot get far in English without learning something of the American national culture.

—Syndicated columnist William Raspberry.

## FROM OUR APRIL 16 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1908: Japanese Fight Uprising

SHANGHAI — Reliable reports reveal appalling conditions in Korea. The movement against the Japanese is general, involving sanguinary reprisals. Practically the whole country has risen against Japanese rule, which barely extends outside of Seoul and the main coast ports. Parties a few miles inland are constantly being cut off. Even the gates of Seoul are now guarded by strong forces, while Koreans are not allowed to cross the river after six o'clock in the evening. Details of the fighting are suppressed in the Korean newspapers, but the facts are admitted. Japanese around the capital have resumed aggressive methods against the ill-treated natives, with results somewhat resembling massacres.

### 1933: Little Beer for Athletes

NEW YORK — The return of legalized beer apparently will be accepted "in stride" by the world of sports, based on the conviction that the spectators can "take it" but that the athletes, with a few exceptions, must leave it alone. Some major league ball parks and most golf or athletic clubs plan to sell the brew under certain restrictions, but colleges have no plans whatever to relax regulations against drinking of any kind. Training rules for college athletes will not be revised to permit a daily ration of beer or ale on the so-called "English plan," although a survey revealed some willingness to permit an "occasional glass" if an athlete needs it or if he knows how not to overindulge.

## The Charter Bars Use or Threat of Force

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The debates on nuclear weapons, the Middle East, Central America and other disagreements are proceeding these days without even the slightest mention of international agreements that the various nations have already signed.

This month brings the 38th anniversary of the drafting in San Francisco of the UN Charter, of which Article 2, paragraph 4 states: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

Moscow now wants another declaration of nonaggression, and so do many leaders of the churches in the free world. But Article 2 (4) of

It is hard to know how many new and more powerful nuclear missiles, with their independently targeted multiple warheads, have been produced since 1968 — or even how many have come on line every month since the "disarmament" talks started in Geneva.

Both sides proclaim that they are negotiating "in good faith," but they are hardening their minds as well as their silos, and asking for "faith" in their good intentions, which they also proclaimed when they signed the UN charter and the nonproliferation treaty.

Eugene Rostow, who was recently fired as head of the Reagan administration's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, took a parting shot at this conflict between missiles and principles. "Unless we confront these facts," he told the Russians and others at the United Nations, "and restore general and reciprocal respect for the principles of Article 2 (4) of the Charter, the slide toward anarchy will engulf us all."

"Until we take effective steps to see to it that the Charter, the arms control treaties and the legally binding decisions of the Security Council

are obeyed; until we can verify and assure compliance with their terms, much of what passes for arms control will be a sterile exercise at best and often, alas, no more than a charade."

What then is to be done? It is not much use to tell the Russians that they are violating the Charter by the use of force in Afghanistan, or that the United States is using indirect force and the threat of force in Central America.

But at least they have an obligation to face the fact that they are in violation of their past treaty commitments while they go on quarreling about new treaties that nobody is likely to believe in until they redeem the commitments of the past.

When it is suggested that the leaders of the five "permanent members" of the UN Security Council should get together, the response is usually, "What would they talk about?"

Well, as President Reagan is always saying, they might talk about their past promises and treaty commitments, one on one — or come before the members of the United Nations and explain why they ignore the Charter they signed.

They won't do it, of course. But it is not such a bad idea — maybe every 38 years — when you consider all the other bad ideas floating around.

The New York Times.



Steve Mandelstein, The Washington Post

the Charter is as clear as the promises of marriage, and ignored almost as often. Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Israel and the Falklands are only a few of many names to remind us of the growing threat or use of force in defiance of this fundamental treaty commitment.

That is not all. While the United States and the Soviet Union are now quarreling over the development of the MX missile and the emplacement of U.S. missiles to counter the threat of Soviet intermediate-range missiles targeted on every capital of Western Europe, there is another treaty that both have signed and apparently forgotten. That is the treaty "on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons." They agreed that it was all right for them to have such weapons but not for other nations to have them. But there was one important condition.

To justify this unequal proposition, they committed themselves "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control."

This was signed in Washington on July 1, 1968, since which date the nuclear arms race has proceeded at an even faster pace, particularly in Moscow. It has spread in Britain, France, India and China, where it was observed that the major nuclear powers were not keeping their promises.

## Employing the United Nations

By Davidson Nicol

UNITED NATIONS — Although multilateral diplomacy is the main feature of negotiations at the United Nations, one of the organization's greatest assets lies in its being a place where bilateral diplomacy can be carried out quietly, far from the glare of publicity.

Each September, when the General Assembly meets, scores of heads of government and ministers of foreign affairs and economic cooperation congregate in New York. Their appearance before the assembly is the highlight of their visit, although more than half their time is taken up in consultation with politicians and officials from other countries.

In some cases these meetings would be otherwise impossible, as the member states involved might not have diplomatic relations. Information is exchanged, acquaintance is made, mediations are attempted and decisions are taken leading to peaceful settlements.

In spite of this, the United Nations has been severely criticized by many Americans as being worthless in general and hostile to U.S. interests in particular. There is clearly a need for an improvement in the relationship between the United States and the United Nations.

It will require a greater willingness on the part of the American people and press to understand the views held by UN representatives of the Third World.

One constant cause of American irritation is the UN's attitude on Israel and Palestinian rights, and its insistence on negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. The United Nations is unlikely to move from this position, and

this accounts for the extraordinary impasse over Security Council resolutions regarding the Israel-Lebanon conflict.

Sufficient notice is not taken in the United States of the fact that Israel has many friends in the Third World, and commercial, if not political, connections with many nations. Among the 157 UN members, perceptions are bound to vary. The West and some of the middle-aged, Westernized Third World nations see Israel as the survivor of the Holocaust, the greatest evil perpetrated in this century. Newer nations — and after the Lebanon conflict, some of the older ones — see Israel instead as a country with the most efficient army in the world serving national expansionist tendencies.

Still, any resolution to remove Israel from the United Nations would certainly fail. Israel is the creation of the United Nations. Furthermore, many Third World nations see it as a small country like themselves entitled to exist in peace.

Newer nations, hardened to U.S. disapproval of their positions on colonialism, South African apartheid or the rights of the Palestinian people, call for a new international economic order. The latter, as a global issue, has underscored differences in perception between the United States and many developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The United States should realize that the effort to create a more just and equitable economic order can bring positive gain in the long run, since the key concept — interdependence — is mutually profitable.

A fair distribution of the world's wealth would result in economic stability and prosperity for all, instead of only for a nervous, favored few in the United States and Western Europe — areas blessed by geography, environment and history that have provided an abundance of natural resources; a strong industrial base and freedom from the debilitating influences of tropical disease, overpopulation and poverty.

U.S. disapproval of other nations' viewpoints has recently been extended also to its allies. The broad base of disagreement includes the severity of action to be taken against the Soviet Union over the Polish crisis, the recognition of leftist regimes in Central America, the nature and degree of disarmament measures to be taken in Europe and the maintenance of high interest rates.

Does the United States want sincere friends who have different perspectives at times, or fawning and uncritical admirers who add nothing to the professed U.S. goal of leadership in multilateral cooperation in the quest for global stability?

Precisely because of its multilateralism, the United Nations is the one forum in which all the world's governments can seek resolution of their disputes, if given support. It must be strong support, if world peace is to be achieved.

The writer, a former ambassador of Sierra Leone, is a UN undersecretary-general and executive director of the UN Institute for Training and Research. This comment, representing an individual viewpoint, was obtained by the Los Angeles Times.

## Heavy Spending on Education Hasn't Paid Off

By Robert J. Samuelson

WASHINGTON — The report card is beginning to be written on one of the great experiments of the past 40 years: America's national binge on education. And the results are disheartening.

Recent experience reveals a puzzling and disturbing development. The more that education spending has risen, the more students' test results have declined.

We are perhaps beginning to appreciate that education as an abstract ideal is not a cure for every national problem. Without an underlying sense of seriousness and purpose, schooling has little to do with either genuine education or employment.

Education is advanced as an answer to the ailments of the day. In the 1960s more education was supposed to reduce poverty and bring about equal opportunity. Today it is supposed to restore technological competitiveness and, in the guise of "retraining," ease unemployment.

If there is a moral in recent experience it is that more schooling cannot simply be applied as a salve to social and economic ills. What matters more than money in realizing education's potential are underlying motivations and expectations — of students, teachers and parents.

Even in retrospect, increases in educational spending have been staggering. Between 1950 and 1975, total spending on schools rose from 3.4 to 8 percent of GNP. Although this partly reflected the effect of the giant baby-boom generation, much of it stemmed from a general increase in the level of schooling.

College enrollment exploded from 2.7 million in 1950 to about 12 million today. For every 100 students who enter fifth grade, about three-fourths now graduate from high school and almost half attend college. In the early 1950s those proportions were half and less than a third.

Federal and state assistance has increased dramatically at all levels. In the 1970s alone, real spending (adjusted for inflation) on public elementary and secondary schools rose 29 percent. Since the late 1950s, student-teacher ratios at the same schools have dropped 40 percent.

These improvements make test score declines as surprising as they are disappointing. Results on the College Board scholastic aptitude tests (down 9 percent in mathematics and 6 percent in verbal skills since 1964) accurately reflect other tests.

In retrospect, America paid a price for its social ideals. Believing that everyone should have access to a college education, governments expended higher education enormously.

And they subsidized it. Two-thirds of the costs of public colleges are paid today from government funds.

Schooling is like anything else. When the price is lowered, people buy more. Also, its value shrinks. To keep classrooms filled — and to qualify for government payments based on enrollment — public colleges and universities reduced entrance standards. And those changes inevitably influenced high schools.

"Once students discovered they didn't need academic courses" to meet entrance requirements, they didn't take them, said Scott Thomson, former superintendent of the Evanston, Illinois, high school district.

Electives proliferated, and students drifted toward less demanding courses. Roughly 59 percent of graduating seniors in the late 1970s took drivers' education, compared with less than 1 percent in the 1960s, according to Clifford Adelman of the National Institute of Education. Sociology's popularity jumped from 7 to 19 percent among graduating seniors, and psychology's popularity from 2 to 24 percent.

The proportion of students on an "academic" track declined from 48 to 36 percent, while the proportion of those on a "general" track rose from 12 to 42 percent. The remaining students were on a vocational track.

Mr. Adelman said of the "general" track: "It's the wasteland of the American high school. It's a confused conglomerate of courses. They're

watered down — a lot of personal service and remedial stuff."

To rectify these figures is not to describe the American school system as a universal mediocrity. Averages being what they are, the statistics disguise enormous diversity. Increased spending has had some beneficial effects. Test scores of poor and minority students have improved.

But, given the magnitude, the return on the nation's recent massive investment in education has been modest. Quality has suffered, and waste has resulted. About half of the students who attend college don't graduate. Either they don't want or can't handle higher education.

No education is complete without understanding that true learning is always a struggle.

National Journal.

## Education: Back to the Three Rs?

By Hyman G. Rickover

WASHINGTON — American society is poorly educated. Student performance is lower than in 1957 at the time of Sputnik, when so-called reforms were initiated.

There should be a return to the ideal of a truly liberal education based on the three Rs, which result in the ability to read intelligently, think precisely, speak fluently and write clearly. Mandatory academic courses must be given priority over electives.

A nationwide system of standardized performance exams throughout the student's school years should be established. The Scholastic Aptitude tests, toward the end of high school, come too late to do much good.

Teachers should be paid more, but only in return for high standards. Secondary schools are trying to do too many things for too many constituencies. The result has been a decline in time and resources devoted to teaching and learning. By choosing easy, "relevant" and entertaining courses, students exhibit a long-term decline in academic performance.

Just how bad things have become is illustrated by the fact that all four major users of high school graduates — business, industry, colleges, the military — must conduct remedial courses in mathematics and English. The military spends some \$60 million a year in developing basic reading skills. Between 25 and 40 percent of enrolled college freshmen require remedial work.

Inadequacies are increasingly obvious, especially in technical and scientific areas. The United States simply does not educate its youths so they

can perform effectively in modern, technologically demanding jobs.

We can lay some of the blame on teachers. Their overall quality is low. At colleges where they are trained they are among the very lowest in quality as measured by Graduate Record Examination aptitude test scores. Between 1977 and 1980, prospective teachers averaged 440 in verbal and 467 in quantitative test scores, while all GRE takers averaged 497 and 531, respectively.

Even excellent teachers are forced to spend too much time on non-teaching tasks and on discipline. Merit pay increases reward teachers mainly for things unrelated to or unmeasured by their intellectual performance or that of their students. In one large metropolitan suburb, merit pay is being considered for teachers who are not absent on Mondays or Fridays.

Parents must assume personal responsibility for educating their children, instead of passing the buck to "educational experts."

School boards, administrators and principals must become less politically manipulable and timid when there are gratuitous charges of elitism or ethnocentrism. There is nothing inherently undemocratic in excellence; indeed, poor education is an insidious cause of a permanent underclass of unemployable proletarians.

The public must demand excellence in education and be willing to pay the bill even at the cost of eliminating some sports programs or other

nonacademic programs. And of course students must be convinced that ultimately they are responsible for their education, that there is no easy way to excellence.

From experience, I am not optimistic about the future of America's educational system. But we must keep trying. To do otherwise is to ensure a tragic future.

The writer, who until January 1982 was the Navy's chief nuclear officer, will head a foundation that bears his name and will be concerned with education. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

investigators from verifying the circumstantial evidence from many sources for themselves.

J. and P. FLANAGAN, Barcelona.

Just Helping Out

Regarding "U.S. Aides Query Cover Operations" (1/17, April 6):

Are your headline writers being intentionally dropped when they submit this front-page article, "Some Fear Aid to Nicaragua Rebels Is Seen as Plot to Topple Sandinistas"? Here we all were, thinking that the intention was to help them.

P. McNEILL, Fribourg, Switzerland.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Napalm in Asia

Regarding "Thais Say Hanoi Seeks Direct Confrontation" (1/17, April 6): William Branigan writes that the recent Thai napalm raids on Vietnamese troops "were believed to mark the first time that napalm has been used in combat in Southeast Asia since the Vietnam war."

Not so. Many of us believe the substantial indirect evidence since 1975 that Indonesian troops have used napalm in their efforts to subjugate the East Timorese people. We say "indirect" because, since its forcible annexation of the former Portuguese territory, the Suharto regime has prevented independent



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## TRILATERALISM

A SPECIAL REPORT



### Japan: Breaking Down The Global Barriers

**TOKYO**—The trilateral concept has affected Japan's international policies, largely by creating a more "cordial" atmosphere for discussions, according to Nobuhiko Ushiba, a former Japanese minister and the Trilateral Commission's Japanese deputy chairman. Following are edited excerpts of an interview with Ken Ishii.

**ISHII:** What is the Japanese view of the concept of Trilateralism?

**USHIBA:** This is a question which is now very much discussed among the Japanese leaders. What kind of relevance Trilateralism has in this world. Because in 1973, when the commission was started, the world was rather quiet and prosperous; but now suddenly the economy has deteriorated and the questions of security and defense have been much more important, so in view of this changed situation, [the question is] whether Trilateralism is relevant. I think even with the change in condition, Trilateralism is still a very important factor in policy, because, take the example of the recession we are now in: I think overcoming this recession will be only possible by close cooperation between...the United States, Europe and Japan. Also, in the matter of defense, I think we should seek security more in global terms, so I think anyway cooperation between these three parts [of the world] is very important.

**Q:** What was initially most interesting for the Japanese in the Trilateralism concept — in other words, what did the Japanese hope to obtain?

**A:** Well, basically, ...the more cordial and deep relations with Europe, that is what the Japanese wanted to have, and the [importance] of this kind of relationship became quite clear when the oil crisis broke out, and a big controversy among the three partners concerning the oil exports from Iran when Iranians took prisoner the American Embassy people in Tehran. At the time, of course, the United States wanted to subject Iran to sanctions and the Europeans more or less cooperated, but Japan at first was not very willing to cooperate because we thought that — some Japanese thought — that the oil question is only an economic question, not a security question, you see.

**Q:** And what is the overall impact 10 years later of Trilateralism in Japan, both domestically and in foreign relations?

**A:** Well, domestically I cannot say that the influence is very strong...compared to the United States, for instance. In the United States, starting from President Carter or [Zbigniew] Brzezinski and other people, there are quite a few people who have been in the American government, you see. President Carter and others. But in Japan only two or three members of the Trilateral Commission have become at one time or another ministers.

**Q:** In what areas of international interest has Trilateralism most affected Japan, if at all?

**A:** Oh, I think certainly in the international aspects of our policy, mostly for economics, for security matters — but more strongly the economic matters. And we have talked through that with the United States and Europe to promote the idea, the principles of GATT, for instance. Also we have talked

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Therefore there were certain

### The Coming Out of America

By Robert G. Kaiser

**WASHINGTON** — "Trilateralism" never found a home in the American vocabulary. A tiny slice of American society would recognize the term, but most people on this side of the Atlantic would not. The only notable won by the Trilateral Commission in America was among Rockefeller conspiracy buffs, a fringe group of crazies who find the heirs of John D. Rockefeller lurking behind every displacing aspect of American life, and who interpreted David Rockefeller's influence in the commission as a sign of intrigue and danger.

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### The Trilateral Commission: Who and Why

By Charles Heck

**NEW YORK** — The Trilateral Commission was launched in July 1973 after a year or so of discussion and consultation.

Several principal ideas may be seen in the formation of this unofficial policy-oriented discussion group, joining the three core democratic industrialized regions of the world: North America, Western Europe and Japan. First and most immediately, the early 1970s were a time of considerable friction among the governments of the three regions. Those forming the commission hoped it could help move the policy debates in our countries in a more cooperative direction.

Second, underlying more immediate friction, there was a sense that the troubles of the early 1970s were not just temporary difficulties, that the whole postwar international system was changing in fundamental ways, that active joint thoughts needed to be given to the "renovated international system" that the changing situation would require. Perhaps two dimensions of change were central. One was that the United States was no longer in such a singularly dominant position, no longer able to provide so much of the leadership needed in the wider system. A more organized form of leadership — "trilateral" — centered, it was imagined — would be needed for the coming era.

Another dimension of systemic change was the rise of "global interdependence" issues to central importance alongside more classical aspects of international politics. Some modicum of progressive cooperation among the trilateral regions — the three main centers of

the world economy — seemed vital to the founders in successfully addressing these global issues and building a wider framework of cooperation with the Third and Fourth worlds.

Another key aspect of the new commission was its emphasis on Japan as a full and equal partner of North America and Western Europe. Most North Americans and Western Europeans were not accustomed to thinking of Japan in this manner in the early 1970s; nor, for that matter, were many Japanese. The key place of Japan in the "trilateral" notion was intended to indicate a needed evolution in attitudes about Japan in North America and Western Europe; and a corresponding evolution of attitudes in Japan itself — where, as the country became such a large fish in the international pond, it needed to think about its responsibilities in a wider framework.

The commission now has a little over 300 members, distinguished citizens drawn from a variety of sectors and political affiliations. The variety is crucial, as the emphasis on cooperation among the industrial democracies cannot become the province of a particular political party or sector of society. The membership does not include sitting national government ministers; and the members who are elected or appointed to such high-level national policy-making positions resign from the commission. The intention is to emphasize the unofficial character of the commission and the extent to which members are free to speak for themselves in examining problems addressed within the commission.

The main event of the commission year is the three-day plenary meeting, which rotates

from region to region. In 1982, it was in Japan; this year it is in Rome, from April 17 to 19. These meetings are devoted to a variety of subjects. Two of the five or six main sessions are organized around draft task force reports of the commission. This year, there is a draft report dealing with defense and arms control issues and another focused on North-South concerns.

Aside from the annual plenary and a number of other, smaller-scale meetings, the principal aspects of the commission's program are its task force reports to the commission. Task force reports to the commission are each prepared by a team of at least three authors, one from each region, who work and meet together over the course of a year or more to prepare a report that is discussed in the commission in draft form and then completed for publication and dissemination. The reports are the responsibility of their authors, not of the commission — too diverse and multifaceted a group to achieve the sort of consensus that can develop in a three-author team.

Twenty-five task force reports have been completed to date, on a wide range of policy concerns. Dialogue devotes one issue each year to the plenary meeting, and the others to current problems facing our countries and the world. The format — with individual articles and interviews, from persons inside and outside the trilateral regions — is more wide open and less consensus-oriented than the format of the standard task force project.

The writer is the North American director of the Trilateral Commission.

### A Range of Conspiracy Theories

Special to the NYT

**THE** Trilateral Commission has been the subject of a wide range of criticism. Whether from the left or the right, the criticism has had the common theme that a group seen as an elite is seeking to manipulate policy around the world — that it is a conspiracy.

Criticism from the American right has tended to attack the commission for a perceived international "bias" that does not further the best interests of the United States. This criticism was particularly sharp when Jimmy Carter, a commission member, was elected president in 1976 and brought 19 members of the commission into the government, including his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski.

When George Bush was running for president, one of his problems was to shake off

the image bestowed on him by his membership in the commission. "The same people who gave you Jimmy Carter now want to give you George Bush," said one advertisement during the primary election campaign in Florida.

Criticism from the left has tended to focus on the business and political ties of the membership — seeing the commission as pushing the goals of multinational firms to the detriment of the citizens of the various countries. The commission also has been criticized for ignoring the Third World.

Laurence Shoop, a leftist critic, described the commission in his book "The Carter Presidency and Beyond" as wielding power on behalf of "the only one-half of 1 percent of the population that owns 22 percent of all personally held wealth."

Defenders of the commission generally

have responded that the commission is a private body that does not make policy, and that the membership includes both liberals and conservatives from different sectors whose interests and views are not necessarily the same.

Leonard Silk, writing in his book "The American Establishment" on the record of the Trilateral Commission during the Carter Administration, observed, "International monetary policy remained uncoordinated. U.S. energy policy floundered. The Western Europeans were crossed up by the decision to cancel the neutron bomb. Arms sales proceeded apace. Congress slashed the size of contributions to the International Monetary Fund. In brief, the trilateral program was in shreds. Many wondered whether the administration had any foreign policy at all. Some conspiracy."

### Brzezinski On Trilateralism And Government

**NEW YORK** — Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, was one of the founding members of the Trilateral Commission. In an interview with Jonathan Power, he pointed out that one of the important roles of the Trilateralism concept was to involve Japan in discussions with Europe and North America that went beyond previous, bilateral talks. Following are edited excerpts of the interview.

**POWER:** Where did you get the concept of the Trilateral Commission?

**BRZEZINSKI:** It developed rather spontaneously in the course of some discussions that I had with a very close friend of mine, Henry Owen, who at one time was the head of the Policy Planning Council in the Department of State.

Paralleling my own discussion with Owen on that subject, David Rockefeller started toying with the idea of doing something to ameliorate the deteriorating American-Japanese and American-European relationships. The two of us happened to have attended a conference at the same time, and each of us, quite independently of the other, surfaced that idea and we were quite struck by how similar our ideas were. And on the way back from the conference — which was in Europe — to America, we talked about it, and we decided to give it a try.

You must remember that this was at a time in the early '70s, when the American-Japanese relationship was very bad, the American-European relationship was deteriorating, and there was no relationship to speak of between Japan and Europe. I had just spent a year in Japan, and, on my own, I reached the conclusion that as Japan enters the world, a wider framework for Japan has to be created than the purely bilateral...

**Q:** What was so special about what you were thinking of at that point?

**A:** Something very simple and very important. It was to be, and it became, the only institution which brought together the political and social economic elite of Japan, Western Europe and the United States, in a common effort to look jointly at the problems facing our three parts of the world, but more generally facing the world as a whole. This is the unique aspect of the Trilateral Commission: that it brings together these people who otherwise wouldn't get together.

Now that we exist, I think it is a fairly obvious idea. But when we didn't exist and the idea was first broached, it did strike some people as disturbing, maybe impractical, or whatever.

**Q:** When you thought about it in these early stages with Owen, did you see it merely as a talk shop, an annual conference, or did you actually have a much more thought-through idea in your mind?

**A:** In my mind — and I can only speak for myself — I've always seen the commission as an action-oriented and policy-influencing organization.

In fact, when the question of what it should be called came up, I think at one of our organizing meetings, I think David Rockefeller or somebody had the notion of calling it the Commission on Peace and Cooperation or something like that. And I was the one who came up with the notion of the Trilateral Commission. And as I explained at the meeting, this captured the essence of the idea — that it was trilateral. Particularly in the case of the name, Trilateral Commission, I was guided by the very deliberate desire to give it an official sounding name as possible — so as to underline the fact that it had a political purpose. And that political purpose, which I wanted to be subliminally communicated by an official sounding name, was to shape policy by influence. Since we did not wield power, the only alternative was influence. But it was meant to be a volley of people, not to just meet and talk, but also to generate some consensus on behalf of desirable goals or policies.

**Q:** Now, some of your critics have said, maybe maliciously, that it was a vehicle for Zbigniew Brzezinski to become national security adviser in the next Democratic administration. And I suppose the evidence behind that is that when indeed Jimmy Carter became president, there were 19 members of the Trilateral Commission who held senior positions, including yourself.

**A:** Well, that wasn't said maliciously; that was said enviously, by people who in that respect saw in this effort a tremendously successful coup for the commission as a whole or for me personally. Alas, in life, we are rarely blessed with such strategic foresight. When I thought of the commission, when I first discussed it with David Rockefeller, when I became attracted by the idea of giving it substance and meat, by serving as its first director,

*"What is the continuing relevance of the trilateral concept? And here I would say this... There is no doubt that Trilateralism is a reality. Even the word trilateral is now used as a common term for the definition of the relationship."*

tor, I never had a thought that this would lead where it did — namely, the accidental meeting between me and its relatively obscure Georgia governor [Jimmy Carter], member of the commission, and then that, of course, leading to the White House.

**Q:** I was going to talk about how it looked once you were in government, and yet the organization had to continue. Once the 19 were in place and the Carter administration came to power and, in a sense, the best blood of the Trilateral Commission on the American side had entered government, how then, from the perspective of government, did the commission look? Was it still an influential body or had it really lost to the inside the people who really counted and could play the role which you originally wanted to play — of influence from the outside?

**A:** First of all, those who entered the government were replaced by a relatively influential, powerful group... So, to speak in terms of the influence quotient, the commission remained an influential, or at least prestigious, body.

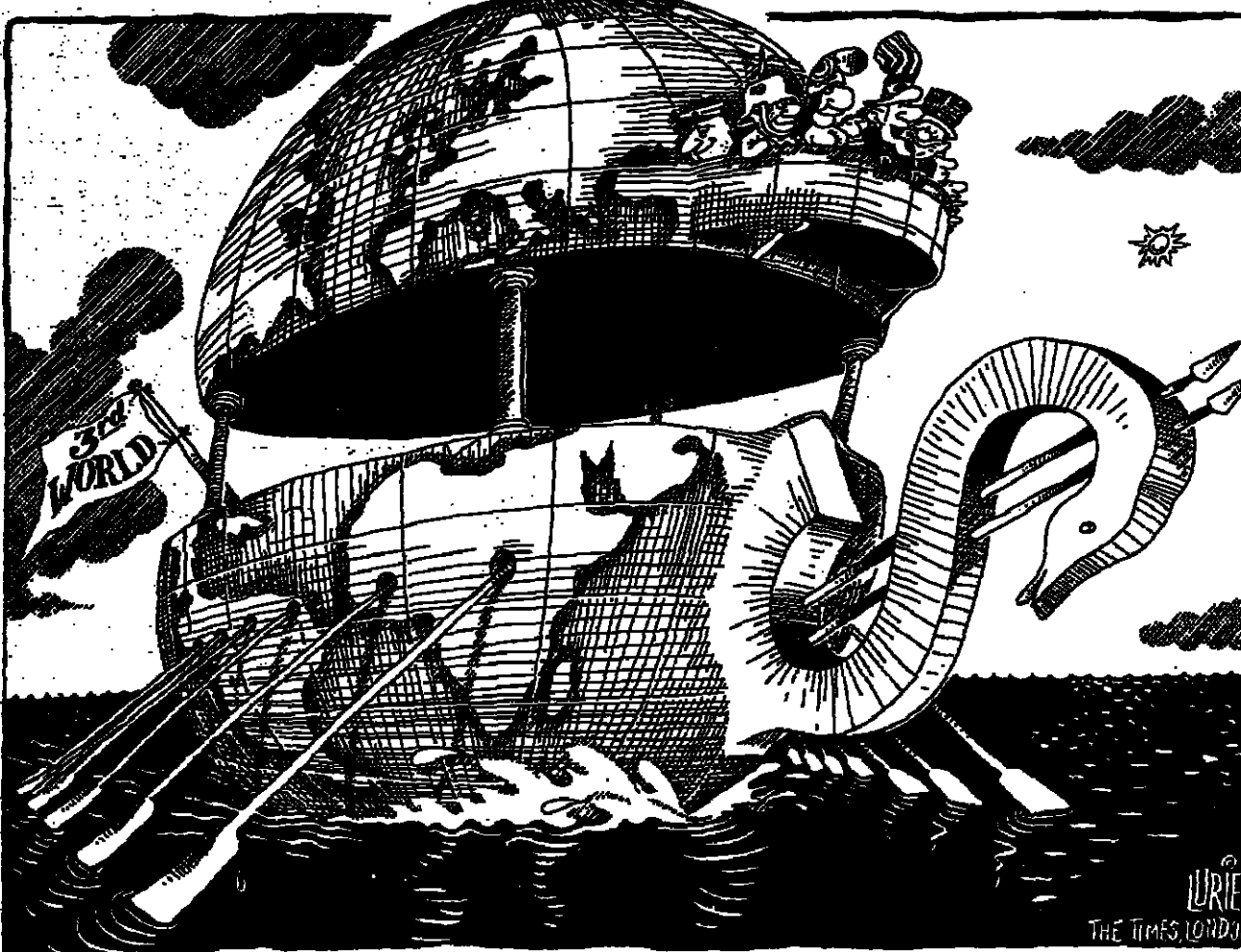
But in terms of what its actual influence was, I do have to say, its influence was derived from the fact that it really had a hard core of ideas, which had a certain compelling political logic to them and which were historically timely. Mainly, that the Atlantic Alliance was too narrow a framework for America's global involvement; that there was a new reality of an increasingly interactive type — that is to say, of the advanced industrial societies, which could play a constructive world role if they focused on the need for playing such a role in a positive fashion, either in terms of social justice within their own sectors or in terms of local development and aiding the Third World; and that all of that required the deliberate fostering of a sense of cooperation.

That I think was actually a very timely idea... I think that was the genius of the commission. At the time of the Nixon shocks [Mr. Brzezinski is referring to trade sanctions imposed by the United States on Japan in the early 1970s] and [Henry] Kissinger's sowing Europe and proclaiming the patronizing year of Europe, the commission came forward with a notion of a more generally cooperative relationship with these three regions. And that was a generally good idea.

And when we assumed office, we, the former members of the commission, to the extent that we could, tried to implement that. So in that sense the commission was both successful in its purpose and somewhat diminished in the centrality of its message. Because its message was now co-opted by the U.S. government. But it doesn't mean therefore that its utility was finished. Because within the context of this central organizing idea, which was now accepted officially, there was still the need for a lot of forward thinking, for a group of people to anticipate problems, to think about them seriously, to try to make recommendations within the framework of this new orthodoxy to keep the policy-makers on their toes, so that the orthodoxy doesn't simply become a cant, but it's actually implemented on a steady sustained basis.

**Q:** A criticism made during the Carter administration — admittedly, it's a criticism that has had louder tones during the Reagan administration — is that the Atlantic is actually becoming wider. Also,

(Continued on Following Page)



"AFTER ALL, WE'RE ALL IN THE SAME BOAT."



## Security: Building Confidence Among the Western Partners

By Gerard C. Smith

WASHINGTON — Defense and arms control issues are now controversial in the trilateral regions. Nuclear weapons matters are being re-examined by governments and private groups, as are the size and increasing importance of non-nuclear military forces. In Japan, where interest in defense and arms control issues in recent years has not been great, growing attention is being paid to self-defense and to security matters in general.

The security of the three regions cannot be compartmentalized; it is indivisible. There is indeed a community of security interest.

As security issues become more pressing and as the dangers are realized to be common to the three regions, the need for a strengthened consensus about security measures becomes urgent. As one Japanese statesman put it, the Afghanistan aggression was "the first global issue on which the effectiveness of the alliance relationship among the industrialized democracies in the political security field is being tested." Trilateral approaches to solving security problems offer the best promise of success.

A revitalized world economy is indispensable for the long-term security of the countries of the trilateral regions. It is no less important than deterrent and defense efforts.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, the separate alliances between North America and Europe and Japan may have sufficed, but the system now needs strengthening. Can a trilateral perspective be developed not only as to force postures and strategy, but also as to arms limitation measures and moves to advance economic security? The Japanese concept of "comprehensive national security" embraces not only military and arms control measures, but economic, psychological and political moves.

The arrival of nuclear parity between the superpowers, foreshadowed for several decades and likely to persist indefinitely, recalls Robert Oppenheimer's gruesome metaphor describing the superpowers as two scorpions in a bottle. If they could articulate threats to sting each other, their credibility would not be great. Nature should tell them that their poison had been reserved for one single purpose: to deter each from trying to kill the other. In coming years, I believe our military and political leaders will realize that this limited, although essential, purpose is all that one can rely on nuclear weapons for. Such realization will result in changes in present defense measures.

Farsighted military officers for years have recognized the coming nuclear parity and called for reduced reliance on nuclear weapons to do our military business and for increased dependence on non-nuclear forces. The Supreme Allied Commander, General Rogers, recently proposed that reliance on the nuclear threat to deter possible Soviet aggression against Western Europe could be substantially reduced, and the onus placed on the Soviet Union for any initiation of nuclear war. He estimated the cost to be 1 percent a year above present agreed NATO commitment for a period of six years. Nuclear weapons would still be deployed to deter the ultimate danger, a Soviet nuclear attack. The supreme allied commander must calculate that his proposal would reduce the risk of any war, nuclear or non-nuclear.

President Ronald Reagan's "vision" of anti-ballistic missile systems to eliminate dependence on the nuclear retaliatory threat seems irrelevant to today's problems. It may provide nourishment for his supporters and tend to pacify critics, but its very uncertain promise and certain astronomical cost suggest that it should be "handled with care." Mr. Reagan said, "I clearly recognize that defensive systems have limita-

tions and raise certain problems and ambiguities. If paired with offensive systems, they can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy, and no one wants that." But how could such a development be avoided?

Instead of diverting resources and treasure to a quixotic defensive effort that most informed scientists consider unrealistic for our times — and that, if ever successful, would terminate the most important arms control agreement, the anti-ballistic missile treaty of 1972 — more concentration should be given to the possibilities of further agreed restraints on all arms. Arms controls are essential for improved relations with the Soviet Union and a condition precedent to any solid progress on halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

While efforts continue to limit land-based intermediate-range missiles in Europe, at least some of the proposed NATO missiles should be deployed. Some kind of interim agreement may be in the cards and should be pursued. But for the longer term, continuing negotiations about theater nuclear forces should be folded into START and a single agreement reached to limit and then reduce all longer range nuclear weapons.

As it is realized that the nuclear threat can no longer be credible as a deterrent to aggression limited to conventional forces, the trilateral nations will have no military choice but to improve their non-nuclear force postures. That will prove less difficult than presently feared. It is hoped that France will participate more fully in efforts to strengthen Europe's conventional defenses.

Under such conditions, the case for maintaining strong, if not stronger, U.S. forces overseas will be compelling. Japan's allies will expect that country to supply improved self-defense at a cost somewhat higher than the present ceiling of 1 percent of gross domestic product. The United States will necessarily carry the greatest burden of supporting the security needs of pro-Western countries in the Middle East and Gulf regions. If the United States proceeds in consultation with its allies and pursues with determination a balanced Arab-Israeli settlement, it will deserve more vocal support from the other trilateral countries than they have hitherto given.

The new conditions call urgently for some rationalization of the production of armaments among the trilateral nations to ensure that they incorporate the most advanced technology, with development and production shared between a number of countries.

As the decades pass, new generations tend to forget the importance of existing alliances that guarantee their safety, and parochial interests are indulged, which weaken these alliances. It is fashionable to speak of measures to build up confidence between the Communist nations and the industrial democracies, but we should also be thinking of confidence-building measures for the Allies.

It is commonplace to hear calls for better inter-allied consultation. It cannot be said too often that exchanges of views at differing levels, up to the highest, are an essential lubricant for the effective working out of the problems of the trilateral region. In particular, the agendas of the seven-nation summit meetings should be expanded to include defense and arms control issues of common interest. By this means, the trilateral unity, which is in itself an important element of our security, can be nourished and translated into action.

The writer, a former head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, was the chief U.S. negotiator of SALT-1. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission.

## TRILATERALISM

### Rescuing the International System: The Art of Compromise

By J. Robert Schaezel

WASHINGTON — A dissonant Western world agrees on at least one thing: Something is seriously wrong with the international system. Albert Bressand of the French Institute for Foreign Relations notes, "...the network of institutions, norms and regimes" designed to provide the essential political framework for an integrated world economy, a sine qua non for its survival, is indeed gradually disintegrating.

Floating exchange rates arrived on the financial scene to acclaim, only now to be attacked as a form of monetary anarchy. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is largely ignored or damned for its inadequacies; yet a "super-GATT" is proposed. Charges against NATO range from its failure to assume any role regarding crises outside treaty borders, as in the Middle East, to the failure of many member-states to carry their fair share of the defense burden. The European Community, more somewhat or paralyzed than active, is stalked by the threat of dissolution, as during the crisis over exchange rates in mid-March.

The litany of complaints among the trilateral countries includes reiterated demands that there be more effective consultation. This insistence seems incongruous given the lifestyle of contemporary politicians — incessant travel, visits and return visits, calendars crammed with international meetings. Perpetual motion is manifestly no key to substantive communication.

What has gone wrong, what has happened to the hopes and plans of those who built the institutions during that inventive period immediately after World War II?

Conditioned by the excesses and disastrous results of 19th- and 20th-century nationalism, a generation of post-war leaders postulated a future ordered by institutions administering enforceable rules. These dreams faded for many reasons.

Along with the audacity of these enlightened politicians went caution. The bold contracts contained fine print: the UN Security Council veto; the fact that NATO decisions had to be consistent with constitutional processes. The Community treaties transferred real national authority to the new institutions, later to be undermined by the De Gaulle-imposed Luxembourg compromise. The latent force of nationalism, especially among ministers and their bureaucracies, had been seriously underestimated.

Beyond the precautionary reservations and sheer novelty, this putative system has had to cope with a surfeit of intractable problems: an uncontrolled nuclear arms race; expectations of limitless economic growth on the one hand, pessimism that any economic system can be made

to work, on the other; the plight of the poor nations to whom all doors to progress seem to be closed.

This situation is compounded by a basic contradiction. Interdependence describes one result of the traumatic pace of world change. An effective financial system cannot be divorced from rising levels of public and private debt, or from the stagnant economies of the developing nations, or from protectionism's effect on international trade, or assuredly from the indispensability, and indivisibility, of Western security.

Even the most superficial analysis leads to the conclusion that stability, growth and security can be attained only through systematic collaboration among Western Europe, Japan and the United States. The essence of this contradiction is the failure to use, or the misuse of, the postwar system, including its institutional base. No serious effort has been made to exploit the latent assets of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; the member governments make use of the European Community only when all possible alternatives have been exhausted.

To cope with change, live with interdependence or, for the logician, to resolve the contradiction, one remedy is invariably advanced: closer, more effective consultation. Only "détente" can match this word for imprecision. If consultation is to be other than an exercise in diplomatic cynicism, it must amount to more than a loose exchange of views, generally after the fact — as in President Ronald Reagan's revelation of a nuclear strategy for the 21st century based on high-technology defense.

For many Americans, Senator Taft's personal dream of Fortress America has not died. His acolytes hide their isolationism behind assurances of devotion to cooperative endeavors. The United States and France excel at this game. Washington swears commitment to the international financial system, but balks at serious study of ways to reduce the costly volatility of exchange rates. Double vision of the French permits formal membership in NATO but nonparticipation in its crucial military structure. France remains a beneficiary of the security provided by the Alliance while insisting on an innate right to absolute independence.

Renovation of the system is theoretically possible. The basic ingredients are there: institutions, machinery, even the habit of communication. The missing element is the failure to understand that a viable system, one capable of coping with a disorderly and dangerous world, must be invested with an element central to any working democratic society: compromise. Compromise involves acceptance of the fact that solutions to problems will be imperfect, generally messy, with no contending group fully sat-

isfied. Recent U.S. Congressional action to save the Social Security system was a model of this process.

We are surrounded by wreckage caused by failure to admit this truth. Convinced that it knew the problem and the answer, the Reagan administration set out to dictate how the Soviet pipeline should be handled. That mindless confrontation — indeed the entire range of disagreements related to the West's economic relations with the Soviet Union — sprang from an inability to see the necessity for democratic compromise. The U.S. administration's position could be right, but no tenable order is possible if any of the partners insist that there are subjects on which no compromise is possible.

Democratic compromise has levels of difficulty. Areas of choice exist where political leaders have considerable latitude, East-West relations for example. But where domestic social and economic policies are concerned, the field of maneuver can be severely restricted. Yet, if political leadership has any meaning, it carries the responsibility to educate the public that modification of short-term domestic interests can be indispensable to the goal of national security. Applying the principle of democratic compromise to problems farthest from domestic nerve centers can condition public opinion and make possible, if not easier, other compromises with regard to those most sensitive domestic issues.

The economic summit meetings have become exercises in delusion — in how to fool not only the patient with placebos, but the doctor as well. The participants at the Versailles summit meeting failed utterly to confront squarely their profound disagreements. This foreclosed in advance any chance of working toward democratic compromise. The same play will be rerun soon in Williamsburg.

In a recent article in the Economist, Helmut Schmidt laid out a mature vision of the world, emphasizing that "it has never been more necessary to make sure that economic policies complement each other and are internationally compatible. Never has cooperation been as necessary as today." But enlightened calls for cooperation will be as empty for the international system as they have been for the Community without reading into cooperation the will to compromise. The United States must be the leader in this effort. Memories of military and economic preeminence die hard. It takes a special effort for the United States to make the concessions essential to preserve and strengthen the system, the concessions that are fundamental to effective leadership.

The writer is a former U.S. ambassador to the European Community, and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

### An Interview With Brzezinski: Trilateralism and Government

(Continued from Preceding Page)

the strains with Japan have become sharper — certainly on the economic front, maybe also on the question of Japan's military budget. And there is some irony in this. You had set out to speak to this need, and even though you were in government, you weren't able to address it in a satisfactory way.

A: Well, of course, that begs the question: What is a satisfactory way? I would concede to you that some differences between us, the

Europeans and the Japanese have become more intense in the course of the last decade. But I think that in turn begs the question: Would they be narrower or wider if the trilateral idea did not exist? My guess is that probably the differences would be wider. Think of the so-called Nixon shocks... If the United States had persisted in these postures without any ameliorating arrangements, how do we know the situation wouldn't be far graver? There is no doubt that there is to look at the common membership in Japan, and also in North America, a recognition that we

have to consider our policies more, we have to discuss issues more, and to a point this has been done.

Q: And looking to the present situation, following on the end of the Carter administration, how do you actually perceive the Trilateral Commission continuing to have its effect? Is it almost counterproductive that so many of you were allied with that particular administration?

A: No. For one thing, if you have to discuss issues more, and to a point this has been done, it is more diversified now. Some of us have come back to ac-

tive participation in it, some have not. I have — in part because of my rather intimate relationship to the commission and its origins. But I would like to address myself to the broader aspect of that. Namely, now that the commission is more than 10 years old, what's next?

What is the continuing relevance of the trilateral concept? And here I would say this... There is no doubt that Trilateralism is a reality. Even the word trilateral is now used as a common term for the definition of the relationship. Most important of all is that there is no doubt that we have helped to shape a relationship between the Europeans and the Japanese which previously had not existed. The question is, where do we go from here? And I for one think that we ought to increasingly consider not only meetings among the trilateral members of the commission, which are still needed, but now meetings with some key countries or regions which are particularly susceptible to the consequences of trilateral decisions, in terms of their own policies, well-being and so forth.



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Versailles, 1982: From left: Martens of Belgium, Suzuki of Japan, Thatcher of Britain, Reagan of the U.S., Mitterrand of France, Schmidt of West Germany, Trudeau of Canada, Spadolini of Italy and Thorn of Luxembourg.

## Western Summits: Putting the Problems of the Industrial World in Their Place

By Henry Owen

WASHINGTON — When the Trilateral Commission came into being 10 years ago, it represented a break with the then conventional thinking about postwar relations among the industrial nations.

That thinking centered around two concepts: • A partnership of equals between a uniting Europe and the United States, as envisioned by President John Kennedy.

• A close economic and security alliance between Japan and the United States.

The proposal for a commission that would bring together private citizens from the three main industrial areas to discuss these areas' common problems suggested that, increasingly, the focus should henceforth be on relations among Japan, the European Community and the United States — rather than on the two subsets of bilateral relations between the United States and other industrial regions.

This purpose has been fulfilled to a considerable degree. While security relations among the industrial nations remain largely centered on the U.S.-Japanese and U.S.-European alliances, their economic and other relations are increasingly dominated by the concept of trilateralism. This is reflected not only in a wide variety of governmental conferences that bring together representatives of the three main industrial regions. Meetings of the Trilateral

Commission, such as the one in Rome in April 1983, are no longer as unusual as was once the case.

Some of the credit for increasing public acceptance of Trilateralism goes to the skill and perseverance of the commission's founders. The first three regional chairmen — Takeshi Watanabe, Max Baucus and Gerald Smith — and the commission's first director, Zbigniew Brzezinski, played an important innovative role, as did their successors, including Georges Berthoin, David Rockefeller and George Franklin. The commission not only brought leading Japanese into constructive dialogue with Europeans, as well as Americans, it also produced serious trilateral studies of common problems of the industrial nations.

The main reason for the success of Trilateralism, however, is that it ran with the grain of history. Annual economic summit meetings of heads of government of Japan, North America and the four main countries of the European Community began two years after the formation of the Trilateral Commission. The recognition that major economic needs could only be met by common action of the three main industrial regions, which had led to the creation of the commission, also led Helmut Schmidt and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to propose a 1975 meeting of heads of government from these regions.

It is testimony to the importance and novelty of the venture that the heads of government turned to such men as George Shultz and Nobuhiko Ushiba (the latter having

helped to form the Trilateral Commission) in planning this first summit meeting, which put the seal of political approval on trilateralism.

The 1975 Rambouillet economic summit meeting was a success. It produced an agreement that eased the shift from fixed to floating foreign exchange rates. Since then, annual economic summit meetings have given an important political impulse to the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiations in 1977 and 1978, brought agreement on the need to hasten the development of oil substitutes in 1979 and 1980, and set goals for increasing multilateral economic aid in each of these four years.

The greatest achievement of the summit meetings was probably the 1978 Bonn agreement concerning U.S. decontrol of oil prices, in return for European and Japanese trade and growth decisions desired by the United States. It is at least uncertain whether this politically difficult but essential action to reduce U.S. demand for oil could have been achieved except within the framework of a summit bargain.

The success of these economic summit meetings transformed trilateralism from a conceptual breakthrough in the private sector to a generally accepted feature of public policy. While other trilateral arrangements multiplied, the cutting edge of trilateralism remained the Trilateral Commission in the private sector, and the economic summit meetings in the governmental field.

The purposes of these two institutions have been mutually reinforcing. The goal of Trilateral Commission meetings is to produce a better understanding of common problems among influential private citizens. This, in turn, makes it easier for leaders of the three industrial regions to agree on concrete actions at economic summit meetings.

In this sense, the formation of the Trilateral Commission in 1973 may have helped to pave the way for the success at Rambouillet in 1975. In this same sense, the Trilateral Commission meeting in Rome may help to pave the way for a successful economic summit meeting at Williamsburg in May.

But the process also works in reverse. While trilateralism has come a long way since the Trilateral Commission was founded, it faces growing problems. Economic growth is stalled in the major industrial nations, unemployment is at record levels, pressures for protectionist and nationalist economic policies are increasing. In the face of these problems, the most recent economic summit meetings at Ottawa in 1981 and at Versailles in 1982 produced little of substance. Rifts among the European Community, the United States and Japan are widening.

The reasons are not hard to find. Governments at summit meetings in the early 1980s were more concerned with justifying national policies and ideologies (whether socialist or conservative) than with finding common ground for international action, which might alter or constrain these policies. Each government thought that its national actions would meet the economic problems it was elected to

solve. Interest in international cooperation was at a low ebb.

But these national policies have not proved adequate to the need. Economic recession has deepened. The voters have recently made clear their displeasure in some countries. Changes in policy are being made or considered as a result: greater austerity in France, and efforts to reduce outyear deficits in the United States, for example. These changes may make international cooperation easier to achieve, by reducing the gap between the national economic policies of the industrial countries.

So the Williamsburg summit meeting takes place in a time of transition. In this fact lies hope for progress. Recognition that common action is needed to meet common problems may be easier to achieve in this changing environment.

Jean Monnet used to say that there are two kinds of meetings: those that place people on opposite sides of the table, with the problem in between them, and those that place all the people on one side of the table and the problem on the other side. In the choice between these two methods lies the key to the success or failure of trilateralism, whether in Rome or at Williamsburg.

The writer, a senior fellow of The Brookings Institution, is a former U.S. ambassador-at-large, and a former special representative of the president for economic summits. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission.

## Investing in the Future of Democracy in an Increasingly Complex World

By Michel Crozier

PARIS — The Trilateral Commission report on the crisis of democracy was discussed in Kyoto in May 1975. This report had been written by a panel of social scientists: Prof. Samuel P. Huntington for North America, Prof. Joji Watanuki for Japan and myself for Europe. It was a thick piece, that is, a document to be discussed and not an agenda for action. Yet it produced shock waves of a sort.

Some in Continental Europe, especially the Germans, denied there was a crisis; Anglo-Saxon pundits, on the other hand, attacked us because, for them, even talking about a crisis meant we were advocating the restriction of democracy. The radical left in the United States, and gradually in Europe, seized on the opportunity to denounce what they called the international conspiracy of the ruling elites who allegedly wished to defeat the progressive forces in their own countries as well as in the Third World.

It culminated in the winter of 1977-1978 when the French Communist Party engineered a complex plot to discredit Raymond Barre, the French prime minister at the time who was a former member of the Trilateral Commission. They claimed that he was being used by the commission to conspire against French independence.

When re-reading this short and dispassionate report seven years later, it is difficult to imagine why it incurred such strong and sometimes hysterical reactions. Especially since subsequent events, after the report's publication, generally appear to have borne out our warnings! Yet the problems are still with us, and discussion is more crucial than ever. It is high time that intellectuals and responsible elites in the Western world and Japan seriously discuss our common problems.

What did we say? First of all, that governments in all advanced democracies were more and more paralyzed by a growing overload of pressures and commitments; secondly, that the vagaries of the communication system and the rhetoric of electoral campaigns led to an increasing gap between the world of political discourse and the bureaucratic maze of reality; third, that indecisiveness, which is endemic in governmental configurations under pressure, was contaminating the electoral politics. And that the erratic movements of the latter tended to alienate citizens. In order to find the answer to the problems posed by these issues, the emerging basic dilemmas of complex democratic societies had to be understood.

There was no point in arbitrarily accusing governments, political parties, trade unions and bureaucracies. Com-

plexity is a fact of modern democratic life because it is the result of the increasing sophistication of science and technology and the related interdependence of people, professions, trades, regions and countries.

Complexity increases problems of governments while capacity to govern has substantially weakened. Why? If one goes beyond simple anecdotal explanations, there is to be seen throughout Western societies a strong and irrefutable demand for more individual freedom of choice. This trend is the pride of the Western world. It has brought us many blessings. But if we wish to continue to meet this demand successfully, we ought to understand its nature and consequences and be willing to pay the heavy price required. The kinds of freedom of choice we now enjoy, whether in our human and sexual relationships or in the area of consumer goods and professional priorities, is the direct result of our economic and social achievements. More complexity allows more freedom to those who participate; on the other hand more freedom brings greater complexity.

And this is the plight of governments throughout the Western world. Not that it is impossible per se to govern complex systems. But our present forms and processes of government have become inadequate to the tasks at hand.

Previously the system had relied on a subtle screening of participants and demands. Skillful handling of distance and secrecy and hierarchy was the other side of the coin. And while subtlety and skill have increased, hierarchy, distance and secrecy have vanished; thus governments cannot count on any lead time against undue publicity.

In order to develop new forms of government that can not only handle technical complexity but, even more importantly, deal with open systems in which people can enjoy a greater degree of freedom while allowing for the problems posed by instant communication, we must undergo basic changes that can be as momentous as those of the Founding Fathers of our modern democracies.

We should have no fear about the results. It will lead to more democracy and more human care. But we must recognize the importance of the task and the necessity of tremendous investment. Neither mere cosmetics nor simple rhetoric — in the form of a set of neat answers in response to the questions posed by decentralization, self-management, socialism or the return to a free market system — can help us.

New concepts of social and political rationality are needed, as well as improved understanding of the operations of complex social systems. It is sad to discover that

during these years the investment in knowledge on all these basic problems of democracies has decreased instead of increased. Indeed the tremendous capacities of enthusiasm and innovation of youth to prospect these new areas of knowledge have lain fallow. If only half the budgets wastefully spent on public relations campaigns were invested in a better understanding of social regulations and government, and there was a greater investment to encourage innovative experiments to develop effective democratic forms to handle conflicts and contradictions, we would improve our chances to rapidly move ahead.

What would the role of Trilateralism be with these goals in mind? Trilateralism is certainly not the answer. But there are few better paths to knowledge than comparative endeavor. And Japan, North America and Western Europe present the most extraordinary array of experience from which we can learn to the benefit of all. The building of the 18th-century democracies could never have succeeded without the constant exchange and stimulation between Europe and North America. Rejuvenation in our time requires a new spirit of flux and exchange.

The writer is the director of the Centre de Sociologie des Organisations in Paris.

# Face the facts.

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Balance sheet total	Dfl. 59,550
Total deposits	Dfl. 57,116
Debtors	Dfl. 37,884
Total shareholders' equity and subordinated loans	Dfl. 2,307

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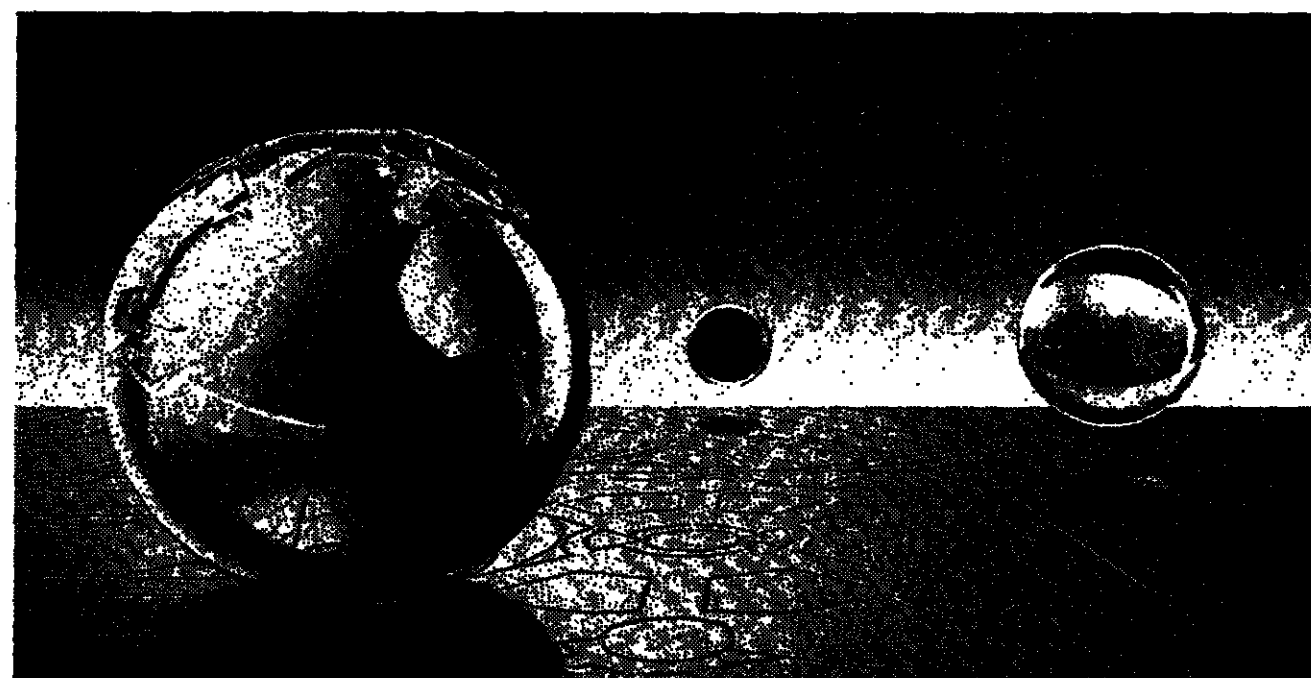
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## TRILATERALISM

### Europe: Coping With the Shock Of Japan's New Economic Strength

By Rene Foch

PARIS — For many years after the war, Europe, comfortably ensconced in the Atlantic alliance, lived under U.S. protection, while Japan was doing likewise under a constitution imposed by Douglas MacArthur and a peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles.

Then Japan's new economic strength began to make inroads in the U.S. market. European documents at that time explained smugly that Europe was protected by the distance. When Japanese exports, sometimes diverted from the U.S. market by so-called voluntary agreements, began to flood European markets as well, Europeans gasped in feigned surprise as they saw their deficit with Japan grow tenfold in 10 years.

The shock was all the more violent in that Japanese exports, concentrated on some well-chosen sectors, did not aim at acquiring market share but at eliminating whole industrial branches in Europe, like the motorcycle or camera industries. So, in a sense, the first impact of Trilateralism was the irruption of Japanese economic power in the well-trodden field of European-U.S. relations, sometimes acrimonious but at least familiar.

The shock was cultural as well. For more than a century, since the Meiji era, Japan had imitated European or U.S. models. Suddenly, Europeans discovered the virtues, or rather the threat, of Japanese methods, and one began to talk in Europe about the Japanese model, adding immediately that sociological differences made its adaptation to Europe impossible.

In fact, cultural barriers prevent Europeans from recognizing that some Japanese concepts are close to their own: The security of jobs in big Japanese firms, for instance, is something closer to European ideas than the ease with which American industrialists hire and fire their workers. Japanese notions of quality control are not all that different from traditional German craftsmanship, and the close partnership between the civil service and industry is not foreign to French experience.

At first, reactions in Europe were purely national and completely ineffective, allowing Japanese exporters to pluck, so to speak, the European artichoke, leaf by leaf. The French, for instance, tried to protect their automobile industry by a national quota against Japanese cars. First, they lost some of their traditional export markets to the Japanese, and then shares of their domestic market to a German industry strengthened by Japanese competition. Something else had to be tried. Finally, last February, the Europeans, negotiating on a Community-wide basis, obtained from the new Japanese government a pledge to limit sales of video tape recorders, cars, machine-tools, hi-fi equipment, motorcycles and quartz watches.

Thus the Europeans repeated vis-à-vis Tokyo the experience they had already had in their bilateral relationship with Washington or in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: united they stand, divided they fall. The pressures of their trilateral partners compel them to develop a common trade policy, as provided for, incidentally, in the Common Market treaty.

*The shock was all the more violent in that Japanese exports, concentrated on some well-chosen sectors, did not aim at acquiring market share but at eliminating whole industrial branches in Europe.*

A minimum of unity among Europeans is a prerequisite if they want to be, as George Orwell might have put it, as equal as the others in the Trilateral Forum.

The consequence of this limited but growing unity is not so much protectionism as new forms of co-operation, direct investments and technological joint ventures. These methods used for many years by U.S. firms in Europe are now increasingly practiced by Japanese firms as an alternative to direct sales. (One may mention the joint ventures between Nissan and Alfa Romeo, or Honda and British Leyland, or the contribution of Japanese technology in the recent Thomson-Telefunken deal. Japanese firms will be more and more part of the industrial picture in Europe.)

Conversely, if Trilateralism indeed had a great impact in Europe, Europe also had an impact on the

policies of its partners in the area of nuclear nonproliferation, for instance, or in the essential field of North-South relationships.

The truth of the matter is that the economies of the trilateral countries are by now so interlocked that no country can go it alone. The problem is to reconcile this growing economic interdependence with traditional national sovereignties.

A first step was taken in 1960 when the Organization for European Economic Cooperation was transformed into the current Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development with the membership of the United States and Canada, and, in 1964, with the membership of Japan. But never have governments used this machinery as vigorously as they should have.

At the initiative of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France, a first meeting of the leaders of industrialized democracies was held in Rambouillet in 1975. It was a businesslike affair, but since then the public relations side of these summit meetings seems to have taken precedence over serious discussions.

More discrete and more workmanlike are the regular meetings of the trade representatives of the United States, Canada, Japan and Europe — Europe being represented by the EC Commission.

Private groups like the Trilateral Commission also play a part — not in solving the common problems but in recognizing them, which would seem a prerequisite if they are to be solved.

Obviously, when leaders of the major countries of the industrialized world meet at Williamsburg in May, they will talk about the signs of economic recovery that have begun to appear in some countries, and about what can be done to stimulate the movement or at least to eliminate the obstacles.

To emulate the approach that served Jean Monnet so well, they should identify one issue small enough to be manageable, big enough to be decisive. As this writer sees it, the problem of the hour is to achieve a joint management of oil prices that makes it possible for economic recovery to take place without creating the conditions for a third oil shock.

The writer is a former high official of the European Community, and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

(Continued from Page 75)  
than we do the extent of the change in American attitudes toward the outside world during the last half century. Americans tend not to be very perceptive about the ways in which they are constantly redefining themselves and their nation. But we have redefined ourselves and our place in the world since Franklin D. Roosevelt led us into World War II.

Americans rarely try to explain just what happened to that self-reliant, proudly isolationist country that the United States used to be. Of course, the war itself was the key factor in pushing America into the world, but there were many other influences. And this was not a sudden transformation. The United States did jump into foreign intrigues even before the war was over, but it has taken the best part of 40 years for America to become truly "internationalized."

This transformation of the American role in the world can be described as the result of great political and economic forces that reshaped the entire world after the war, and perhaps this is the correct description. It certainly would have been difficult for the United States to resist the pressures pulling it into an active international role.

But for Americans there had to be more to it than the inexorable forces of history. It had to be a human process as well.

Foreigners visiting America for the first time often seem struck by the insularity of this enormous country. They complain that the American news media give short shrift to foreign news, that ordinary Americans do not seem to know Paraguay from Bulgaria, that America is still an isolated giant.

This is a fair perception for a European, who lives on a crowded continent and cannot avoid an internationalist outlook. But in fact the apparent isolation of modern America is misleading, because so much of this country now is plugged into the outside world. Most significantly, the people who run this country are now likely to be people who also know the outside world from direct personal experience.

It is the process of getting that experience that has been so important to the transformation of America. The Trilateral Commission has been one of many vehicles that have brought influential Americans into close personal contact with their counterparts in the other industrial democra-

cies. It would be impossible to ascribe particular significance to any one of them, but the commission certainly deserves an important place on the list.

In fact, it is the success of the commission and other such groups at creating a kind of international establishment of dominant personalities in the industrial democracies that has made it the target of rightist crazies in the United States. For there are still powerful strains in the American character that are suspicious of outsiders and fearful of all relationships with foreigners.

But those strains have now been relegated to the fringes of American life. Perhaps the best recent symbol of this change was the unlikely presidency of Jimmy Carter, a small-town Georgian who became a genuine international statesman, albeit one of inconsistent talents. And of course, Jimmy Carter's first real introduction to the outside world came as a member of the Trilateral Commission.

The writer is associate editor of The Washington Post. He has reported from Moscow and Indochina.

### The Coming Out of America

### Labor: A Plea for Larger Role in World Discussions

By Heinz Oskar Vetter

DUESSELDORF — The idea of Trilateralism — to look at North America, Japan and Europe as three areas with a common destiny in the world — cannot be questioned. But neither can it be denied that the trilateral countries are divided by their position in the international economic and political scene, as well as by their regional and national interests.

If they want to have a common impact on world developments, then continued consultation, leading to a better understanding among them — if not to a consensus of opinion — is indispensable. This idea has been taken up on inter-governmental levels as well as within a number of official and informal groupings. When one looks at the increasing number of important issues and at the actual performance of the trilateral world, one wonders how much further we still have to come than simply accepting the idea that the trilateral process is needed.

In May, the leaders of the seven leading Western industrial nations will hold their economic summit meeting in Williamsburg. Although such meetings are not intended to produce decisions but rather to lead to consultations and proposals, one sometimes wonders whether proposals for common approaches ever last much longer than the publication of long communiques — when the follow-up of

summit meeting proposals is not directed by national interest.

Subjects for summit meetings have often been limited to some of the most pressing problems of the day. And it is sometimes more interesting to see which topics are left out.

For example, although the economic problems of the summit countries have featured prominently in the discussions, the pressing problem of increasing unemployment has only very recently caught the attention of the summit members — this in spite of the fact that the national trade union centers of the seven summit nations since 1977 have presented statements to each summit meeting, pointing to the major economic and employment problems and to the solutions they envisage.

This is not a case for discarding the world economic summits, but for proposing to the participants that they re-evaluate their performance and the original objective of the summit meeting, which is not to prepare or to continue the business of their ministries or ambassadors.

In the context of summit meetings, one might also reflect on the objectives of the Trilateral Commission. The ideas of trilateral summit meetings and of the Trilateral Commission originated almost at the same time — and both from the feeling that trilateral discussions were needed if the coun-

tries of the trilateral region wanted to maintain their impact on world development and to keep from harming one another.

When the idea for the Trilateral Commission was proposed — to bring together personalities from the trilateral area, from different walks of life, to discuss the issues of our time and to make independent suggestions — this proposal widely resembled the philosophy of West German labor organizations at that time: namely, that conflicts could be resolved or avoided and problems overcome by consultations between the parties concerned.

In West Germany, that led to the creation of the so-called *Konzerterte Aktion* of government, employers and trade unions. Some years later, the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) and the European Trade Union Congress (ETUC) were instrumental in establishing a "tripartite conference" of governments, employers and trade unions for the European Community area.

These institutions and the Trilateral Commission share certain characteristics. They are informal (some more, some less). They do not make decisions but rather issue proposals. In following such objectives, they seek to reach a consensus of opinion through compromise, not to create conflicts.

Neither *Konzerterte Aktion* nor tripartite conferences have sur-

vived in their original form during the tougher periods of economic crises. It seems that the idea of partnership in labor-management relations — and in government-management-labor relations — is only something for better times.

This is not only a problem in industrial relations. The continuing threats to trans-Atlantic, European and trilateral unity — because of national, regional or group self-interest — are many. And, in spite of my critical remarks about the performance of world summit meetings, it has to be recognized that the discussions prevented open conflicts, although they did not solve the existing problems. Nevertheless, a relationship based on "As long as they talk, they do not shoot" is insufficient for an alliance in which members do not intend to shoot at one another anyway.

The friendly relations within the Trilateral Commission certainly were not affected by economic and political developments within the trilateral area. Meetings proceeded in 1983 as they did in 1973, and there remains for the commission the common task of discussing ideas for curing the defects and evils of this world.

Discussions and reports certainly enlighten the members of the commission. The results might influence their thoughts and actions. Perhaps that is all that can be expected from the work of the com-

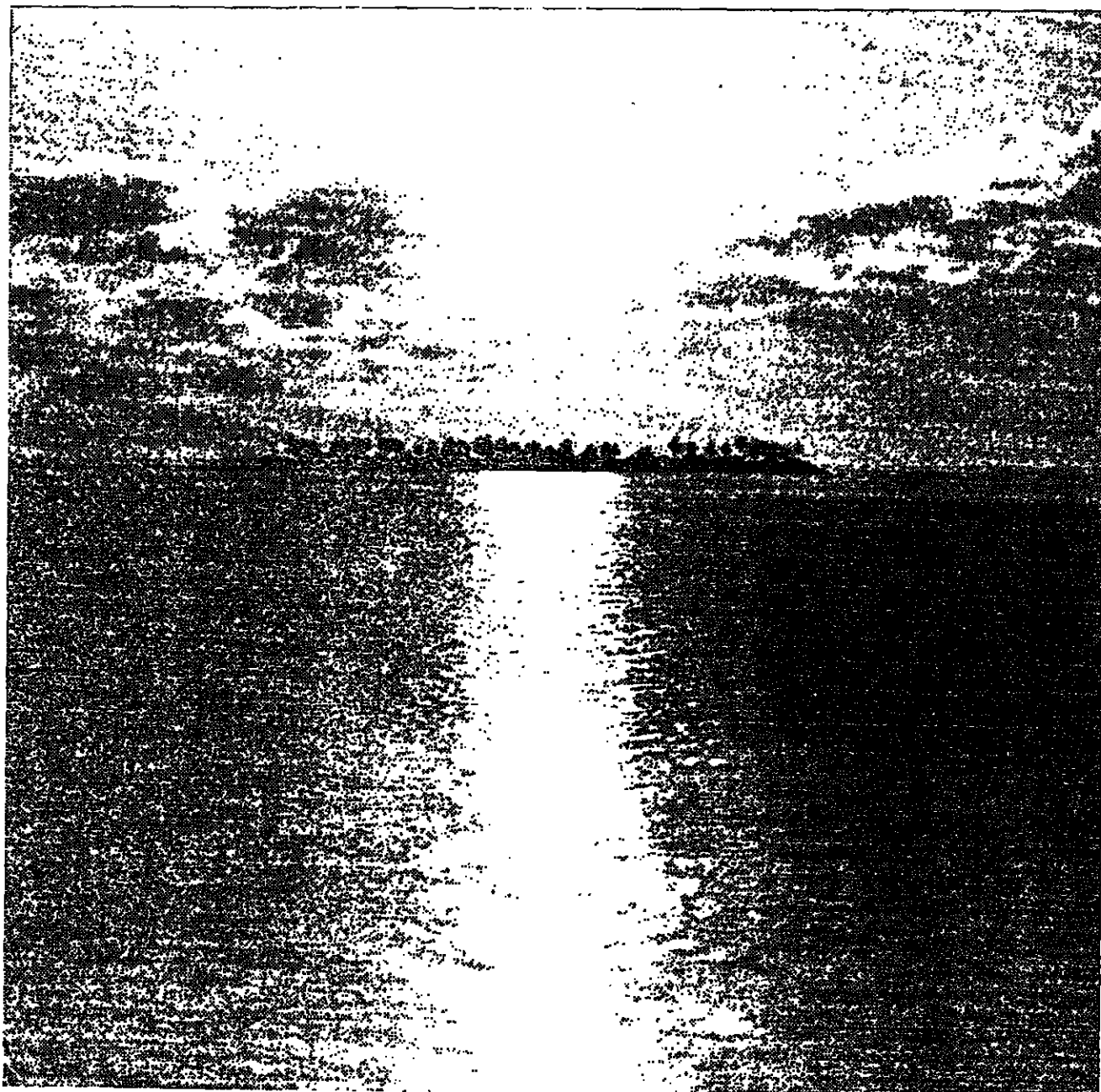
mission. But the question remains: Is that enough?

As in the case of summit meeting topics, it is interesting to look at the subjects that Trilateral Commission reports do not cover. In particular, the social aspects of many topics have been neglected.

One wonders whether the composition of the membership does not lead to this selective process in determining discussion subjects. The aim of having all walks of life represented in the Trilateral Commission has not been reached. For whatever reason, out of more than 300 members of the commission, there are fewer than 10 trade unionists.

It is not really the responsibility of the commission to seek to have influence on daily politics by taking up the subjects of daily politics, which has frequently been done in recent years. The Trilateral Commission should go back to looking more at the basic problems of living together as members of the trilateral region, and at the trilateral countries' relations with the rest of the world. And more recognition should be given to the social aspects of the topics discussed, and to a larger participation by labor and other social groups.

The writer is a member of the European Parliament and a former chairman of the German Federation of Trade Unions. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission.



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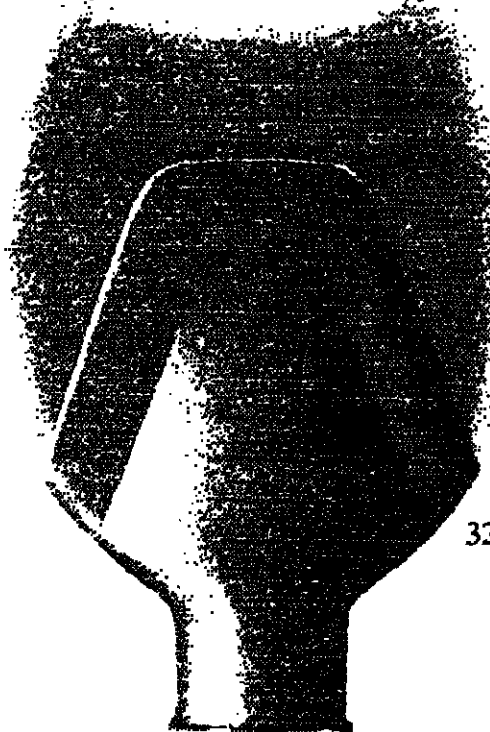


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## Who Will Pay for Lower Oil Prices?

By Daniel Yergin

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The "surprise-free scenario" is the corporate planner's dream. Alas, the world has a habit of delivering surprises. When it comes to energy, surprise has followed surprise over the last decade, and oil went from \$2.50 a barrel to, at least for a time, more than \$30 a barrel — to the distress of corporate planner, government official and plain consumer alike.

These particular surprises have been very costly. The oil shocks, more than anything else, have driven up inflation in the years since 1973. At the same time, they have been a driving force behind the world slump, both as a result of the sudden transfer of income and of the policy measures taken to combat inflation. The costs are finally clear in the number of unemployed — which has risen in the industrial world, from about nine million people in the early 1970s to about 35 million today. We are still assimilating the political consequences of all this.

Of course, the latest unwilling recipients of surprise are not the oil consumers, but the oil exporters. In the first months of 1983, they saw demand for their oil only half of what it had been in 1979, with devastating impact on revenues and thus on the commitments and plans they had made since 1979. The market has its feedbacks and imbalances, and \$34-a-barrel oil inevitably eroded their share of the market — and finally forced them last month to cut the price.

Part of this fall in demand for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is the result of a profound process of adjustment, the earthquake in oil prices, with

the result that the dynamics of the world's energy economy are quite different today from a decade ago. The adjustment has taken three forms. One is the development of non-OPEC oil. Mexico, the North Sea and Alaska together added six million barrels a day to the world market in the late 1970s. The latter two, at least, might never have been economic without the 1973 price increases.

Secondly, the march toward greater relative dependence upon oil has been thrown into retreat, as other energy sources — principally coal, but also nuclear and, to a lesser degree, renewable resources — have displaced oil. For instance, by 1980, the Japanese cement industry — completely dependent on oil in 1973 — had switched entirely to coal.

The most striking change has been in demand — and that may turn out to be the most lasting surprise of all. For a considerable loosening of the link between economic activity and energy consumption has taken place, despite the most emphatic declarations that this was impossible. Between 1973 and 1981, the industrial world became 16-percent more energy efficient.

What of the next decade? Can we look forward to great stability in the balance between supply and demand?

There is a strong desire in some circles to ignore the costs already experienced, deny the reality and simply proclaim that the energy problem is over. For instance, a perfectly foolish article in a recent issue of *Fortune* announced that U.S. oil imports were "sinking fast" — proof, the author was asserting, that the energy question is a thing of the past. Unfortunately, he was ignoring both the consider-

able effects of the recession and the continuing specter of declining U.S. domestic production — which is what turned the United States into the world's largest oil importer in the first place.

At this point, no one knows — or can know — how much of the change in the energy economy is the result of permanent conservation, of behavioral changes, or of recession. There are other important puzzles, such as technological innovation, economic growth, public attitudes, depletion rates for existing oil production, and possible new additions to world oil supplies. (Which banker is going to lend Mexico money in the near future to further develop its considerable oil reserves?)

In other words, there is still good reason to fear, as the International Energy Agency warned in its *World Energy Outlook*, that energy problems could again act as a constraint on economic growth — as they have so painfully done over the last decade. Prudence would be the appropriate stance as we look toward the next decade. It could well prove as unwise for the oil exporters to assume that the present conditions in the world oil market will last through the next 10 years as it was for the oil exporters to assume that the conditions of 1979-1981 would go on indefinitely.

The writer is chief author of "Global Security: A Strategy for Energy and Economic Renewal," sponsored by the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, and co-author of "Energy Future: Report of the Energy Project at the Harvard Business School." He is president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, and is a lecturer at Harvard University.



Drilling for oil.

## Recovery: Remembering the Poorest Countries

The impact on the developing countries has been particularly severe. As world production and trade have shrunk, the demand for their exports has decreased. The prices of non-oil commodities have dropped to their lowest levels in 40 years.

By A.W. Clausen

WASHINGTON — The liquidity problems that have surfaced in parts of the developing world have been prevented from exploding into a global debt crisis by a remarkable cooperative effort involving industrialized and developing countries, international institutions and commercial banks. That spirit of cooperation must be strengthened by nations and institutions on a permanent basis if global economic expansion is to resume and be sustained.

The first small signs of an economic recovery have begun to appear on the horizon for a number of industrialized countries. They could mark an approaching end to the most pervasive and most stubborn recession the world has known in 40 years.

The impact of the recession has been severe. After decades of impressive growth, production in the industrialized countries has declined. The rapid increase in international trade that stimulated the growth in production has been halted. The industrialized countries have tried to check inflation with stringent monetary policies. But budget deficits have remained large. Interest rates therefore have risen to record high levels — suppressing investment, production and demand, driving up unemployment, and thereby accentuating the recession.

The impact on the developing countries has been particularly severe. As world production and trade have shrunk, the demand for their exports has decreased. The prices of non-oil commodities have dropped to their lowest levels in 40 years. With the decline in export earnings and the high level of interest rates, these countries have found it more difficult to service their external borrowings.

The debt servicing problems do not extend to developing countries as a whole. They are serious only in certain specific countries, including some that export oil and some that do not. Although centering on individual countries, the problems demand concerted action. The number of cases of debt rescheduling has risen

sharply: almost as many developing countries have had to reschedule loans in the last two years as in the previous 25.

The recession has hit the poorest countries hardest. The fall in commodity prices has reduced their export earnings, and they do not have the economic strength to borrow the funds they need from commercial sources. Yet the flow of concessional funds remains extremely limited. Development programs therefore have had to be cut back sharply in a group of countries that are so poor that they can least afford to make such cuts.

Against this background, the economic recovery now incipient in some industrialized countries becomes of first significance for the world as a whole. These countries account for two-thirds of global production. They predominate in international trade and they are the major source of the capital flows that nourish economic expansion. Their health has a direct impact on the health of the global economy. That is why it is of the utmost importance that the economic recovery now in seed be sustained, but also that it be disciplined and noninflationary so that the painful progress made in the fight against inflation is not lost.

Although the role of the industrialized countries is crucial, it has to be complemented by appropriate policies and actions in the developing nations. The fundamental need for both groups is twofold. The first is a stronger commitment to economic progress as a political and cultural priority. The second is a clearer recognition of the increasing interdependence of today's world; nations, both rich and poor, and individuals, both public and private, must cooperate more closely if the enormous problems ahead are to be addressed effectively.

The commitment to economic progress can be tested in a number of ways. Among the most important is whether countries, facing the protectionist pressures generated by the recession, remain committed to the liberalization of trade that has nourished the unprecedented economic expansion of the last 30 years. As a corollary,

are both developed and developing nations making the structural adjustments necessary to improve productivity? Are domestic economic management policies aimed both at promoting growth and at nothing less than checking inflation? Is enough being done to control the increase in national budget expenditures? Is the adjustment to the end of the cheap energy era being encouraged?

The handling of the debt problems that have arisen in some developing countries exemplifies the kind of closer cooperation between nations and institutions that is required. There is a growing recognition that these problems are essentially those of liquidity, not solvency; that they are manageable; and that they call for concerted action involving not only the industrialized and developing countries, but also commercial banks and such institutions as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The World Bank, for instance, has strengthened its policy dialogue to assist developing countries in evolving more effective policies and institutions. Under a special action program, it is speeding up disbursements to help borrowers cope with the shortage of resources that has cut their development plans. Together with its affiliate, the International Finance Corp., it is expanding its role as a catalyst for private investments. And it is trying to improve the flow of information and analysis that might stabilize international capital markets and encourage commercial lending, especially by smaller banks.

Despite such actions, however, one deficiency of key importance remains. The poorest of the poor countries are among those hit hardest by the recession. They need the kind of concessional development assistance the World Bank provides through its affiliate, the International Development Association. But the IDA has suffered from severe funding problems, mainly due to shortfalls in contributions from the United States. The urgent needs of the very poor, therefore, are being met most inadequately.

The writer is president of the World Bank.

## East-West Relations: Economic Ties Are a Needed First Step to Detente

By Robert V. Roosa and William M. Reichert

NEW YORK — Once again, East-West relations are strained. This is the fourth significant flare-up in as many years: Afghanistan, Poland, the gas pipeline, and now confrontation over arms deployment. Despite a nervous awareness on both sides that superpower sniping is edging us toward a dizzying precipice, we will probably stumble through, again, just a bit worse for wear, and probably not much wiser. Is there nothing that can be done, short of these repeated alarms and the fraying of tempers and nerves, that can help to lessen the strains?

Any progress of East-West relations in recent years cannot be measured in terms of calming successes, but in terms of how much retrogression has been avoided. As long as relations between the United States and the Soviet Union remain aggressively adversarial, rather than becoming constructively competitive, this repetition of challenges is likely to persist. But there are some gaps through which gains for both sides might be possible.

Although each of the recent confrontations between East and West has been geopolitical in origin, all have involved a significant economic dimension. Without intending to brush aside the critical strategic and political issues involved in the deterioration of East-West relations, it is worth considering whether the absence of stable and consistent economic relations between the Western nations and the Soviet Union and its allies has seriously diminished the prospects for Western security.

Economic ties alone cannot, of course, prevent political and strategic rivalry. That was, perhaps, the innocent hope of the detente of the 1970s in its early bloom. But compatible international economic contacts are surely a prerequisite for reasonably stable political relations. Yet despite the ample evidence of the importance of economic policies in relations among the Western allies, economic considerations are still generally relegated to a residual role in East-West relations, and particularly in relations between the two superpowers.

The recent U.S. approach has been characterized by the attempt to use trade and credit as weapons rather than as bridges. The rationale has been that feedgrain and advanced technology, for example, are so important to the Soviet Union that embargoes or sanctions limiting access to them will compel favorable changes in Soviet behavior. Instead, as carried out, such efforts to exert leverage have backfired — causing the Soviet Union to direct its promising markets to other suppliers, and creating disruptive tensions among the Western allies.

Probably the most neglected or mismanaged aspect of East-West relations has been the coordination of trade and economic policies among the Western nations. The destabilizing impact of last summer's debacle over the Soviet gas pipeline contracts has likely done more, by an order of magnitude, to threaten Western security than any transfer of technology or increase in economic dependence that could have occurred through normal trade. Similarly, the divisiveness of the domestic and international conflicts within the NATO alliance over intermediate-range nuclear weapons may do more to affect the future security of Europe than any particular weapons system that may or may not be deployed.

Improved coordination of economic policy toward the East does not require rigid conformity. Disagreement is not always destructive. But all governments and their constituents in the West will have to be more sensitive to the unequalled costs or gains that may come from disrupting or expanding trade with the East. A cutoff of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is comparatively more costly, both economically and politically, to the West Europeans than to the United States or Japan; conversely, the West Europeans stand to gain more from expanded trade.

The United States, appearing insensitive to these considerations, has behaved erratically and at times ham-fistedly, frequently without consultation with its allies, in using economic weapons against the Soviet Union. But the United States, in a two superpower world, bears the responsibility of having to react to Soviet misbehavior, and the West Europeans have not developed any coherent alternatives for coordinated Western policy.

The more positive potentials for East-West economic relations lie in the value of expanded trade, provided uniquely sensitive military technology can be effectively excluded. Substantial economic benefits may be gained from enabling each side to tap the resources of the other through non-subsidized, nondiscriminatory and mutually advantageous trade. Over the near term, financial constraints and the low capacity of the COMECON countries to export marketable goods will limit these gains, but the long-term potential is significant.

There can be important strategic benefits as well. To be sure, the naive hope that the West can lock the East into a web of interdependence has been justly discredited, but to the extent that normalized economic exchange reduces mistrust and paranoia and increases social welfare, security can be enhanced.

Still, both sides will have to continue proscribing trade of a critical "strategic" nature, but for the West the list of exclusions should be made narrow enough to win support from all countries, and then must be applied more consistently. A narrower approach, however, is apparently in contradiction to some recent proposals from the U.S. Defense Department. But at the levels of sophistication already reached on both sides, the Soviet military threat may now be determined more by Soviet political will than by any major differences between Soviet and Western economic and technological capacity. With freer trade in the goods and services of the civilian economies, the West is more likely to enjoy a relatively stable political environment than if it tries to attempt a wide-reaching quarantine of the Soviet economy.

Geopolitical confrontation appears increasingly to be a negative-sum game; each side may expend vast resources to maintain military capabilities, but there are not likely to be any winners. Economic exchange can be a positive-sum game, in which both sides gain. The West need not begrudge Eastern economic gains, especially if they are equally to the West's benefit. As long as the Western nations remain dedicated to the economic dynamism of trade and competition, which has brought enormous gains in social welfare since World War II, the West would need never fear economic progress in the East.

The Williamsburg economic summit meeting at the end of May will probably turn, as have the previous summit meetings, to East-West economic relations. No comprehensive solutions or major initiatives can be expected in the current environment. Instead, there are opportunities for finding little bridges to the East that can establish and build ties in politically neutral areas. The frustrations of recent conflicts between the superpowers and within the alliance ought to instill a new readiness to try to seek out the sectors of mutual self-interest. The time may be approaching when, with neither fanfare nor overblown expectations, opportunities can be found for moving forward to more coordinated and pragmatic Western economic policies toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The writers are with Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. Mr. Roosa, a Trilateral Commission member, was one of the three authors of the commission's "East-West Trade at a Crossroads" report, published in 1982, and Mr. Reichert was an associate author.

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## Japan: Breaking Down the Global Barriers

(Continued from Page 75)

about sharing the global responsibilities among these three regions of the world. In that, Japan has been sometimes criticized that it is trying to get a free ride, and that kind of thing. Now we are going to change that attitude, we are going to share the global responsibility much more than before. That was very strongly promoted by the idea of Trilateralism.

Q: It is not due to Mr. Nakasone's becoming prime minister so much —

A: Oh no, no. Mr. Nakasone is of course thinking along the same line as we do, but we have been, right from the beginning almost, concerned with the problem of sharing greater responsibility in the world.

Q: Would you say that, while Mr. Nakasone is known to be more of an internationalist among Japanese prime ministers, would you say that the advent of Mr. Nakasone as prime minister has helped the Trilateralism concept as far as Japan is concerned?

A: Certainly, he has made very strong statements about our security problems, Japan's contribution to the security obligations with the United States, and he also mentions that we must also cooperate with the NATO countries insofar as security concerns the defense of Japan, you see. And therefore I think certainly the prime minister's emergence will contribute to the strengths of the idea.

Q: What in the Japanese view is

the future, if there is one, of Trilateralism?

A: Oh, I think Trilateralism will never die, that's what I am convinced of. And I think it's an idea to be strengthened by all of us. And I think that at the coming meeting in Rome I want to stress this point very strongly.

Q: What do you feel are the Japanese handicaps in participating in the Trilateralism concept, and in the commission. Language, for example.

A: Yes. Language. And meetings more often take place in Europe or the United States, you see. People don't come to Japan very often so they have got to travel a long distance to meet there. That is certainly sometimes a handicap for many people.







# Herald Tribune BUSINESS/FINANCE

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SATURDAY, APRIL 16-17, 1983

## TECHNOLOGY

By LEONARD SILK

### America's Technological Edge Is in Danger, Academy Finds

NEW YORK — The United States, powerhouse of the industrial revolution in the 20th century, has been suffering from acute anxiety that it is losing its industrial and technological leadership to other countries, and losing ground in important world markets to countries that have forged ahead through close cooperation between business and government.

To study the problem, the National Academy of Sciences 14 months ago assembled a distinguished panel of economists, businessmen, engineers and scientists, headed by Howard A. Johnson, chairman of the corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Frank Press, president of the academy, said the most remarkable thing about the report, which is entitled "International Competition in Advanced Technology: Decisions for America," was that strong-minded and independent people, who started far apart, came to the unanimous conclusion that U.S. technological leadership is vulnerable both from domestic weaknesses and from damaging practices of other countries.

The panel reached a double-edged recommendation. The first part was that the U.S. government should take a stronger hand in helping to maintain the nation's capacity for technological innovation, to benefit its domestic economy, its national security and its competition for global markets. The second was that the government should pursue policies to reduce trade frictions, to remove economic and political barriers between the United States and its principal industrialized allies, and, if necessary, get tough if other countries refuse to cooperate in opening up their markets.

The panel called for "the most immediate hard bargaining" against such unfair trade practices as predatory pricing, the targeting of specific U.S. advanced technology markets through governmentally orchestrated industrial strategies, government intervention to force the purchase of products from domestic suppliers, and restrictions on foreign direct investment, particularly those restrictions that deny distribution outlets for U.S. advanced technology products.

To deal with such cases, the panel proposed a series of escalating actions, ranging from bilateral discussions to formal dispute proceedings. If all else failed, it called on the United States to take "unilateral action to protect the national interest as a step of last resort."

The panel recommended one major organizational change: A biennial national-level review of the innovative capacity and trade competitiveness of the United States. The review would cover not only research and development but also manufacturing and distribution. It would also assess the broad elements that affect innovation, including the macroeconomic environment, regulatory policy, patent policy and the antitrust laws.

#### Greater Aid to Education Urged

The report, presented Thursday at a hearing of the Senate Finance Committee, calls for greater governmental aid to education, both higher and lower. The American primary and secondary system for teaching science and mathematics is in trouble, the report says, noting that the higher productivity growth of the Japanese economy has been attributed partly to the quality of that country's pre-college educational system.

Thus the American spotlight is back on the factors affecting economic growth. Basically, there are two forces behind growth. One is a set of cultural factors, including science, technology and the skills, education and drive of a nation's people. The other is a set of economic factors, especially the accumulation of capital and its investment in plant and equipment and in research and development.

On the cultural side, the United States still looks very strong. American scientists still lead the world in winning Nobel Prizes. There is a need, in science and engineering that carries over into many high-technology industries.

#### Concern About Social Divisions

But there are deep concerns about the nation's social, economic and educational disparities, with fissures developing along class lines. The large number of unskilled and undereducated workers hampers the nation's technical and industrial progress.

On the economic side, persistently high interest rates and low rates of savings and investment are slowing the growth of productivity. While many small companies are showing remarkable dynamism and have ready access to venture capital, basic U.S. industries are having trouble raising long-term funds at costs below anticipated rates of return.

High interest rates, resulting from the clash between loose fiscal and tight money policies, have made the dollar too overvalued as to undermine U.S. exports and stimulate imports. And high interest rates have helped slow the growth of the U.S. and world economies.

The academy report should help nudge government support for the nation's shipping technological and international trade position. It could also help improve the macroeconomic and social environment for growth, if U.S. policymakers will read it and take it seriously.

The New York Times

## CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for April 15, excluding bank service charges.

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## Friday's AMEX Closing Prices

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Over-the-Counter

Floating Rate Notes

Closing prices, April 15

NASDAQ National Market Stocks										Banks										Treasurer-Gen. Inv.										
Selling in										Common Stock										Old Assets										
100s	High	Low	3m	1m	Net	100s	High	Low	3m	1m	Net	100s	High	Low	3m	1m	Net	100s	High	Low	3m	1m	Net	100s	High	Low	3m	1m	Net	
Accord	958	22	22	22	22	Accord	958	22	22	22	22	Accord	958	22	22	22	22	22	Accord	958	22	22	22	22	Accord	958	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22	Alcoa	1428	22	22	22	22
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# Turkey Has High Hopes for Banking Reform

By Ragip Bircan

ISTANBUL — Turkey's banking and financial system, after months of disarray, is on the brink of a major overhaul. Finance Minister Adnan Baser Kafoglu says will lead to sounder financial institutions under stricter control.

Earlier this month the ruling generals gave their assent to a new law handing the cabinet power to change by decree most of the key legislation covering banks and capital markets.

Full details of the shake-up have

not been announced, but Mr. Kafoglu has said he wants to restructure banks and set up for the first time in Turkey a formal capital market and end a period of plunging profits, closings and general confusion in the financial sector.

The present problems among the banks began when the government lifted controls on interest rates after introducing a tough monetarist policy aimed at curbing runaway inflation and stabilizing an economy racked by external debts and internal overspending.

The banks, which up to then

were accustomed to "cheap money," suddenly found themselves in fierce competition with each other.

Dozens of brokerage houses also sprang up selling bank certificates of deposit and bonds, as well as lending to industry, to fill the vacuum caused by the absence of an established capital market. The brokerage houses also competed with banks for savers' deposits by offering high interest rates.

Rates for depositors soared to more than 50 percent a year from near 15 percent. The interest rates for industrial borrowers, turning

increasingly to the banks for cash as the government's tight money policies took grip, also rocketed to more than 80 percent.

Cracks in the strained system began to open when industrial borrowers, facing a drastic slump in domestic demand, started to default on their debts.

Incompetence among bank executives helped the brokerage houses, which were able to outmaneuver the banks and take the lead in fixing interest rates.

But the brokerage houses were the first to fail. Unable to withstand acute liquidity shortages, they collapsed in two waves in late 1981 and mid-1982.

Most of the ones that crashed in the first wave were small "market bankers" operating single branches. In July of last year, however, the country's biggest brokerage house, Banker Kastelli, estimated to have sold bonds and certificates worth 100 billion Turkish liras (\$490.6 million), went bust.

In the resulting chaos, most of the remaining brokers also shut down. Banking analysts estimate the central bank pumped about 45 billion liras into the banks to keep them afloat as an alarmed public began a run on cash.

While the banks struggled to overcome falling profits and a slump in deposits, Mr. Kafoglu began to prepare measures to restructure the system.

After a special meeting with representatives of all 45 domestic and foreign banks operating in Turkey, Mr. Kafoglu set up a committee of officials from his ministry and the banks to study a list of suggested changes.

A seven-member subcommittee will report back to a full meeting on April 22 and the changes are expected to be ordered shortly afterward by government decree.

Mr. Kafoglu says the old system of brokers will be banned. In its place he is expected to establish a regulated capital market.

Mr. Kafoglu is also expected to try to reduce the influence that family-owned industrial holding companies have on most of the 23 private banks. Business sources say the banks favor their own companies in giving loans and credits.

Officials say Mr. Kafoglu also intends to raise the capital of the banks and increase their ratio of deposits to loans.

Mr. Kafoglu has already said he will make the appointment of senior bank executives subject to Finance Ministry approval. Banking analysts also expect him to order some smaller, weaker banks to merge with each other or with bigger banks.

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### Mexico Extends Total Control To Cover Citibank Operations

MEXICO CITY (AP) — The Mexican government has ordered Citibank to observe official rates and currency controls, according to a source at the bank. Citibank was the only major full-service bank not affected by the nationalization of the country's banking system last September.

"We were asked to stop dealing at unofficial rates because of the impact on the local foreign exchange market," the source said Thursday. The source, who asked not to be identified, said Citibank agreed to comply but has found it virtually impossible to carry out major foreign exchange operations at the official exchange rate of 149.40 pesos to the dollar.

He indicated that before the recent agreement the bank was dealing heavily in foreign currencies at rates as high as 180 pesos to the dollar. Currency controls were imposed Sept. 1 when the government expropriated all Mexican private banks. Citibank, the only foreign institution handling checking accounts and deposits, was left untouched.

### Honeywell Reviews Olivetti Stake

HANNOVER, West Germany (Reuters) — France is considering changes in the 26-percent stake in Olivetti held by the state-controlled CII Honeywell-Bull group, according to Jean-Claude Hirié, director of the electronics department in the industry ministry.

He said discussions are continuing on whether another French company could enter some form of technical cooperation with Olivetti. If so, the Honeywell-Bull stake could be transferred to that company, Mr. Hirié said. He did not say which company or companies might be under consideration. Honeywell-Bull lost 1.35 billion francs (\$184.6 million) last year.

### Bekins, Far West Continue Talks

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) — Bekins said Friday that discussions are continuing on the offer by Far West Financial to buy up to 100 percent of Bekins stock at \$20 a share. Bekins said it had engaged the investment banking firm Goldman Sachs to advise it on the Far West proposal.

Discussions with Far West are continuing, Bekins said. But it added that "no assurance can be given that a mutually satisfactory agreement can be reached." Earlier, Far West said it may end its offer unless Bekins' directors "promptly" approve the offer.

### Washington Post Plans Weekly

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Washington Post plans to publish a new newspaper starting this fall. The paper, to be called National Weekly, will be "designed for the reader who wants to know more about what goes on in Washington — about politics, the federal government and the economy," said Donald E. Graham, publisher of The Post.

The paper will be specially edited to provide readers from other areas with in-depth, analytical material on Washington issues, Mr. Graham said. The paper will be printed at The Post's offset printing plant in Springfield, Virginia, and sold by subscription and on newsstands.

### Japan to Ease Some Import Quotas

TOKYO (Reuters) — Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has approved a plan to resolve a dispute on Japanese imports of beef and citrus fruit from the United States. Agriculture Minister Iwano Kaneko said Friday. Mr. Kaneko said the plan would include a raising of import quotas.

Details of the proposal remain to be worked out with the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and with the farm lobby, which is politically influential.

### Toyota, Nissan Cite Output Drops

TOKYO (UPI) — Toyota Motor and Nissan Motor, the No. 1 and No. 2 Japanese automakers, have reported lower production and export shipments for the fiscal year ending March 31.

Toyota said its vehicle production for the period totaled 3.18 million units, off 0.5 percent from a year before. Nissan said it produced 2.4 million vehicles, down 6.6 percent from the preceding fiscal year.

Toyota produced 2.3 million passenger cars, up 3.3 percent, while Nissan's production fell 2.9 percent to 1.8 million. Toyota said passenger car exports rose 3.3 percent, while Nissan's car exports rose only 0.3 percent.

## EC Body Fines Klöckner on Quota

Hannover, West Germany

The European Commission has fined Klöckner-Werke 109.7 million Deutsche marks (\$45 million) for exceeding European Community steel production quotas a company spokesman said Friday.

He said in reply to questions that Klöckner does not intend to pay the fines, which cover the fourth quarter of 1981 and the first two quarters of 1982.

The company has already been fined a total 79 million DM for exceeding quotas in the first three 1981 quarters.

The spokesman said the company disagrees with the way the com-

mission assesses Klöckner's production, adding that if the community pursues its case the company would fight it through West German courts.

Klöckner is contesting the fines for the first three 1981 quarters, he said.

In February, the EC advocate general was reported to have recommended to the European Court of Justice that a 5-million DM fine, part of the earlier 79-million DM total, should be annulled because it had little basis in law.

The advocate general's recommendation is not binding on the court, which is expected to rule on

the case in May. Legal sources have said that approval of the recommendation would have a major impact on recovery plans for the community's steel industry.

Meanwhile, in Bochum, West Germany, a spokesman for Krupp Stahl said Friday that his company will not contest the 2.5-million European Currency Unit (ECU-7-million) fine that the commission imposed for exceeding quotas.

He said the company is already due a compensatory payment resulting from a 1981 European Court of Justice judgment. He said Krupp plans talks with the commission on balancing the two payments but he gave no details.

## U.S. Futures Prices

Open High Low Close Chg.

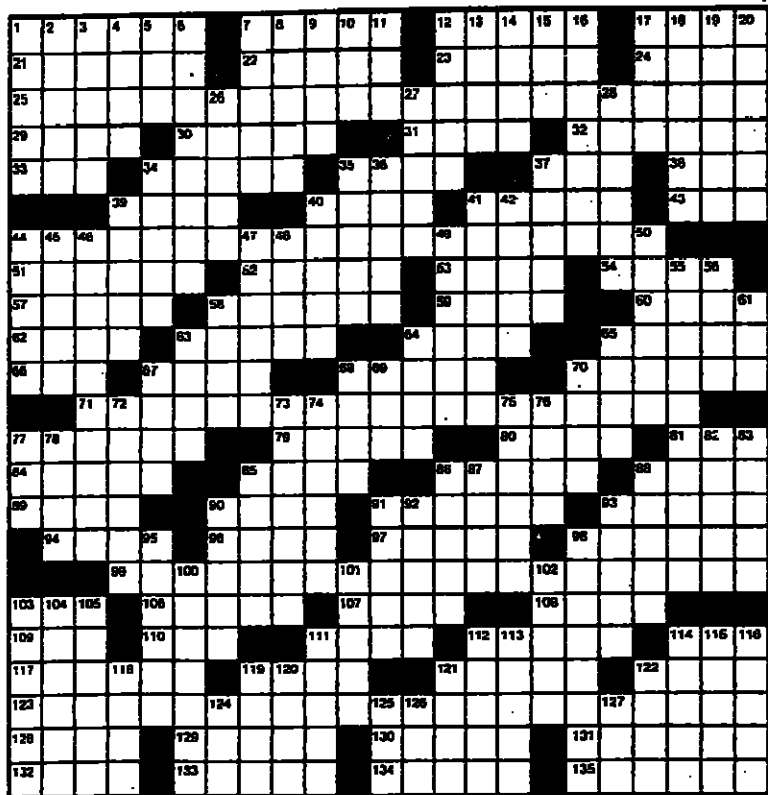
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2869-70, 2870-71, 2871-72, 2872-7



# CROSSWORD PUZZLE

Breakfast Time By Mel Rosen



- ACROSS**
- 1 Milquetoast
  - 2 Caesar, for one
  - 3 beam
  - 4 Rainbows
  - 5 Have high hopes
  - 6 Inspiration for Sappho
  - 7 Accusation
  - 8 Hat-trick component
  - 9 Bacon
  - 10 Adjust, in a way
  - 11 Whittier's feet
  - 12 Ways to go, shortly
  - 13 Card game
  - 14 Work unit
  - 15 Old thrall
  - 16 Shop tool
  - 17 Greek letter
  - 18 Georgia Tech grads
  - 19 Comic actor
  - 20 Jacques
  - 21 Printer's mach.
  - 22 Relative of nifty
  - 23 Rachel Carson target
  - 24 Warlike
  - 25 Salazar or Roe
  - 26 He thought up "The Thinker"
  - 27 Gopher Tommy
  - 28 Word with shod or stream
- DOWN**
- 15 The law's is long
  - 16 Retracts an act
  - 17 Taj Mahal site
  - 18 Complained
  - 19 Used a dray
  - 20 Most sneaky
  - 21 Kind of button
  - 22 Bean produced in Burlington
  - 23 mundi (opal)
  - 24 Mansard extensions
  - 25 Call
  - 26 fell swoop
  - 27 Dick and
  - 28 Schick
  - 29 Like a harrow
  - 30 Unsharped
  - 31 Creators of dms at ions
  - 32 Author of "The Happy Prince"

- DOWN**
- 44 Take out
  - 45 Entirely
  - 46 Wavy
  - 47 Part of Spain
  - 48 Dorothy's dog
  - 49 Shante's his game
  - 50 Fort Bliss site
  - 51 Fiddle
  - 52 Kind of deck
  - 53 Bean produced in Burlington
  - 54 mundi (opal)
  - 55 Call
  - 56 fell swoop
  - 57 Dick and
  - 58 Schick
  - 59 Like a harrow
  - 60 Unsharped
  - 61 Creators of dms at ions
  - 62 Author of "The Happy Prince"

## THE DELTA STAR

By Joseph Wambaugh. 276 pp. \$15.95. Perigord Press Morrow, 6 Henderson Drive, West Caldwell, N.J. 07006.

Reviewed by Robert Lekachman

WHAT in heaven or on earth has a Russian sub embassies ground in Swedish territorial waters got to do with the string-out cops of the Rampart Division of the Los Angeles Police Department? Quite a lot, you will be entertained to find out as you pursue Joseph Wambaugh, a former Los Angeles Police Department detective turned best-selling spinner of police procedurals, through the back alleys of his metropolis and, for good measure, the laboratories and watering holes favored by students and faculty at the California Institute of Technology.

Wambaugh's cops hate Democrats, affirmative action, blacks, Mexicans, Koreans, boat people from Vietnam, Jerry Brown, Mayor Bradley and lesser politicians. The list, of course, is incomplete. One of the novel's more baroque creations, the Bad Czech, a huge specimen with appetites to match for violence, women and alcohol, cherishes an especially vehement grudge against California Chief Justice Rose Bird and the rest of the "supremes." An equally lovable character is Ludwig, a 130-pound Rotweiler, largest of the LAPD's K-9 unit. Ludwig,

well taught by his human partner, Hans, enjoys a good glass of beer, or several, at Leery's, the grubby bar where off-duty cops congregate to share their troubles. In this aptly dubbed House of Misery, they ingest astounding quantities of booze, complain of an edict against choke holds and talk dirty. It is only to be expected that the men hate the presence of equals of women colleagues and do their best to turn them into sex objects. For their part, the women fight back by drinking as hard, talking as foully and acting as violently as their macho colleagues.

One of the women, nicknamed Jane Wayne by the Bad Czech, stood over six feet tall and had good upper-body strength and legs that could crush a beer keg. She earned the respect of her male colleagues when "three nights after graduation from the police academy, she choked out a combative trucker who thought he could drive a six-wheeler across the water in McArthur Park right onto Duckie Island."

Dilford and his partner, Dolly, share a taste for viewing eviscerated corpses in the police morgue. There's a happy team. Dolly cheats enthusiastically on her accountant husband.

Marital fidelity is nearly as rare in the Ramparts Division as membership in the American Civil Liberties Union. Mario Villalobos, "Delta Star's"

## BOOKS

burned-out hero, was married and divorced twice. One son ignores Mario's existence. The other hates him as a change from hating himself. No wonder Mario has become a vodka martini man—hold the olive, hold the vermouth.

Wambaugh admires his policemen. He passes more than once to justify their anarchic ways as natural reactions to the dangers and loneliness of their daily routine. Their subculture is that of men and now—worse luck—women who depend upon one another to survive each day's encounters with the unknown and terrifying. Like other combat veterans they stay with one another off duty because only from-line warriors know what it's like.

The suitably baffling plot concerns the murder of a seedy private eye and a prostitute known as Miss Moonbeam. Wambaugh plays fair. The clues are there, and Mario Villalobos with a bit of help from Cal Tech interprets them correctly. You will be relieved to discover that the Russians don't get away with it. What the "it" is I cannot in good faith reveal.

This is the best Wambaugh I have encountered. It deserves to sell the customary ton of copies. The dialogue crackles and the follow-ups of Cal Tech are rendered as plausibly and considerably more satirically than those of the Rampart Division. Although it is possible to admire types like the Bad Czech less than Wambaugh does, he does render understandable the man's murder of an especially vicious mugger. Beneath rough exteriors a foot or two deep, cops are sentimental folks. It burns the Bad Czech to see an old doll battered around like a tetherball. He sits by the hour by the bedside of his brutally beaten Korean colleague Sunny Kae, trying to bring him to consciousness.

The confrontation between cops and scientists is hilariously handled. I should not end without noting the existence of characters like Rumbled Ronald, certain that something dreadful will happen to him in his last two days of active duty before retirement, the Bad Czech's cynical black partner Cecil Higgins, Leary himself and Ludwig's friend Gertie, who meets a sad fate. It's a lot more credible, all of it, than the latest episode of "Hill Street Blues."

Robert Lekachman teaches economics at the City University of New York. His most recent book is "Wages Is Not Enough." He wrote this review for The Washington Post.

## DENNIS THE MENACE



## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW			HIGH	LOW	
Algeria	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Amsterdam	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Antwerp	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Berlin	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Bombay	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Buenos Aires	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Calcutta	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Canton	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Chongqing	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Colon	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Delhi	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Hankow	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Harbin	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Hong Kong	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Kobe	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
London	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Lyons	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Manila	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Medan	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Osaka	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Paris	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Rangoon	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
San Francisco	17	13	C	10	10	10	C
Seoul	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Singapore	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Taipei	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Tokyo	24	18	C	10	10	10	C
Yokohama	24	18	C	10	10	10	C

## Solution to Last Week's Puzzle

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## SPORTS

## Ruff and McKegney Power Sabres Past the Bruins, 7-4

**United Press International**  
**BOSTON** — Lindy Ruff and Tony McKegney each scored twice in the second period to lead the Buffalo Sabres to a 7-4 victory Thursday night over the Boston Bruins in the National Hockey League playoffs. Game 2 of the Adams Division final was to be played Friday at Boston Garden.

The Sabres, in winning their third straight playoff game without a loss after sweeping the Montreal Canadiens, twice battled back from two-goal deficits. Ruff, who had only 12 goals all season, triggered Buffalo's comeback with two goals in a 52-second span to tie the score, 3-3, early in the second period.

His first goal came on a wrist shot on a 2-on-1 rush, and his second was assisted after defenseman Ray Bourque lost the puck in front of the Boston net.

McKegney then added his pair of goals and 15:33 to give Buffalo a 5-3 lead. The goals were almost identical: McKegney came out from behind the net both times and tipped a backhand shot off the pads of Pete Peeters.

"We didn't concern ourselves with getting down a goal or two," McKegney said. "We're the underdogs. We're not supposed to win."

McKegney's second goal came on a tip-in from the crease as Ruff's second penalty of the playoffs after having only four all season.

The Bruins opened strong but played uninspired hockey for much of the game. Bourque and Barry Johnson gave Boston a 2-0 lead with goals at 4:49 and 10:31 of the first period while the Sabres could manage only one shot on goal in just four minutes.

The Sabres made it 2-1 at 16:33 when Mike Ramsey intercepted an attempted clearing pass by Peeters and scored on a 55-footer through the screen. Peter McNab restored Boston's two-goal lead to 3-1 just 10 seconds into the second period with a deflection of a Bourque shot.

Craig Ramsay and Gilles Hamel completed the scoring for Buffalo with goals early in the third period. New York closed the scoring with 2:16 remaining.

**Islanders 4, Rangers 1**  
 In Uniondale, New York, Bob Bourque collected three assists in

the third period to give the New York Islanders a 4-1 victory over the New York Rangers. Game 2 of the Patrick Division final was scheduled for Friday in Nassau Coliseum, the Islanders' home rink in Uniondale.

Bourque assisted on goals by Denis Potvin, Brent Sutter and Duane Sutter to spring the Islanders from a 1-1 tie.

Bourque drew Ranger goaltender Eddie Mio out of position to set up a scramble that enabled Potvin to fire a 25-footer to Mio's left at 1:44. Less than three minutes later, Bourque and Duane Sutter com-

**NHL PLAYOFFS**

bined to set up Brent Sutter for a 10-foot shot to Mio's glove side. At 8:05, Duane Sutter backhanded a rebound past Mio from the crease for the Islanders' fourth goal.

The Islanders outplayed the Rangers for most of the game despite losing defenseman Dave Langevin at 2:37 of the first period with an injury to his right knee.

The Rangers took a 1-0 lead at 13:01 of the first period. Herb Brooks, the Ranger coach, inserted Ron Giesbrecht at right wing on the power play and the defenseman-forward backhanded his own rebound over Billy Smith for his second goal of the playoffs.

A blunder on a golden scoring opportunity deprived the Rangers of a chance to increase their lead and led to the tying goal by the Islanders in the second period.

With each team a man down, Ron Duguay and Mike Backman took off for the Rangers on a double breakaway. Duguay, a veteran, inexplicably passed to Backman, who was playing only his fifth NHL playoff game, and the rookie shot went wide. Apparently, Backman's pass was intended to set up a penalty killing, when Dave Maloney was caught for holding at 5:18. Soon afterward, Stefan Persson tipped a 40-foot shot past a screened Mio at 5:43 to tie the score.

**Black Hawks 5, North Stars 2**  
 In Chicago, Curt Fraser's tip-in goal at 13:06 of the third period broke a 2-2 tie and the Black Hawks to a 5-2 victory over Minnesota. Game 2 of the Norris Division final was set for Friday in Chicago.

Fraser tipped in a shot by Doug Wilson after Steve Ludzik had made a fine play to keep the puck in the attacking zone. Denis Savard's fourth playoff goal at 17:41 of the third period clinched the triumph. Doug Wilson added an empty-net goal in final minutes.

The Black Hawks took a 1-0 lead at 8:10 of the second period on Ludzik's third playoff goal, a rebound of a shot by Doug Wilson. The North Stars tied the game 21 seconds later when Tom McCarthy shoved the puck past Murray Bannerman after Bannerman had made a save on Dino Ciccarelli's scoring attempt.

Minnesota went ahead, 2-1, on a power-play goal by Bobby Smith at 13:17 while Rich Preston was serving a hooking penalty. Taking a pass from Brad Maxwell, Smith hammered a 15-footer past Bannerman for his fifth goal of the playoffs.

Chicago tied it with 1:38 left in the second period. Tom Lyjak headed for the puck from behind the Minnesota net and fired a pass to Doug Crossman, who whistled a shot from the slot past Gilles Meloche who was screened.

**Oilers 6, Flames 3**  
 In Edmonton, Alberta, Mark Messier scored four goals to power the Oilers to a 6-3 triumph over Calgary. Game 2 of the Smythe Division final was scheduled Friday in Edmonton.

Messier, who had 48 goals in the regular season, scored twice in the first period, then added another pair in the final period, including a shorthanded goal of four goals in a single game set by Wayne Gretzky in their opening series this year against Winnipeg.

"I just seemed to be in the right position at the right time," Messier said. "It was just one of those games that go like that. The four goals were nice, but I would have been just as happy to score one goal — if it were the game winner."

His showing overshadowed that of Calgary defenseman Paul Reinhart, who notched a hat trick in a losing cause.

Forward Pat Hughes and defenseman Paul Coffey scored the other two goals for the Oilers in the third period.

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But the organizers will be under strong pressure from other participants, particularly the Russians, to bar such a late infusion of talent. The Czechoslovaks, almost always at their best when facing their Soviet rivals, are still re-building and are not expected to emerge as a real threat for another two years.

## Russia Favored in World Hockey

**DORTMUND, West Germany** — The 49th World Ice Hockey Championships open Saturday with a familiar question: Who can stop the Soviet Union?

The answer is probably nobody — except the Canadians, depending on how much of their professional talent will be available from the Stanley Cup playoffs in North America.

Following the elimination of the Montreal Canadiens, Quebec Nordiques, Philadelphia Flyers and Washington Capitals, the Canadian squad has been considerably strengthened through the arrival of Marcel Dionne, Brian Propp, Darryl Sittler, Dennis Maruk and Mike Gartner.

But the Russians, who have won 16 of the last 20 titles and have not lost a World Championship game since 1978, are the team to beat. The championships start simultaneously in Dortmund, where the Russians open the defense of their title against East Germany, and Düsseldorf, where Finland takes on Czechoslovakia.

The decisive second round will take place in Munich starting April 27 and culminating in the final on May 2.

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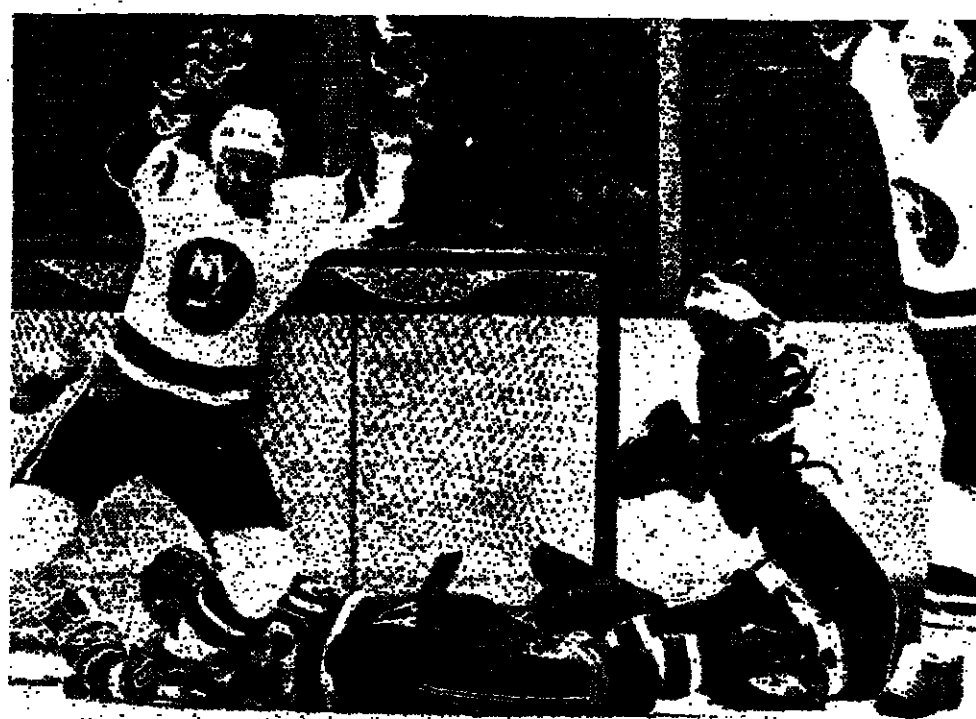
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Duane Sutter (left) and Brent Sutter of the Islanders rejoicing at Duane's third-period goal against the Rangers. On the ice are Dave Maloney and the Ranger goalie, Eddie Mio.

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## Rozelle Assails Verdict On Antitrust Damages

**New York Times Service**  
**NEW YORK** — Pete Rozelle, the commissioner of the National Football League, has called the award of \$16.41 million to the Los Angeles Raiders and the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Commission for the league's antitrust violations a "serious miscarriage of the judicial process" and he said that the league would appeal.

By law, the damages are trebled, which means that if Wednesday's verdict is upheld, the league will be required to pay more than \$49 million.

Rozelle's statement Thursday attacking the verdict said that the case had been "tried at all stages under improper legal standards and in a forum in a partisan location." Both the liability and damage phases of the trial were held in Los Angeles. The verdict in the liability phase, which was reached last May, was appealed a week ago Thursday before a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, situated in Los Angeles.

In attempting to require the Raiders to remain in Oakland, Rozelle said of the NFL owners' vote four years ago, "the member clubs were adhering to a longstanding NFL policy favoring franchise stability. The league also was attempting to respect prior public assurances to the Oakland community and to Congress that the Raiders would not be relocated from that home area so long as they were well supported."

In the appeal of the damages phase, attorneys for the league will argue that a large component of the award was based on what one lawyer called "uncontradicted evidence" that luxury boxes could not have been built in the Coliseum in time for the 1980 and 1981 seasons. Those were the years the Raiders were forced to remain in Oakland because of the league's action. The Raiders' bid for damages was based in part on the added income that they said the luxury boxes at the Coliseum could have given them.

Another argument the league will make, said Jay Meyer, Rozelle's counsel, is that Judge Harry Pregerson, who presided over both phases of the trial, would not inform the jury of six women about the pending eminent domain case, brought against the Raiders by the city of Oakland. In that trial, scheduled to begin May 17 in a state court in San Francisco, the city of Oakland will attempt to prove that it has the right to condemn the Raiders and make them return to Oakland in the public good.

League attorneys also contend that if Oakland prevails, the results of the antitrust case, and therefore the damages, will be moot. When the eminent domain case was filed in February 1980, Oakland obtained a preliminary injunction that prohibited the Raiders from leaving. Four months later, a trial court lifted the injunction. But two years after that, the California Supreme Court ruled that the city had the right to attempt to seek control of the team by eminent domain.

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## Cardinals Exploit Sloppy Fielding By Mets; Forsch Pitches a 4-Hitter

**United Press International**  
**ST. LOUIS** — Bob Forsch pitched a four-hitter and the Cardinals took advantage of sloppy New York fielding to score seven runs in the first inning and go on for a 7-1 victory over the Mets.

Forsch (1-1) allowed four walks and was pitching a shutout until he was hit by a line drive in the fifth inning.

St. Louis batted around in the sixth, but the inning might have ended at 2:02 if Bob Balboni, the Mets' shortstop, had not muffed a potential double play grounder.

Ozzie Smith drove in Lonnie Smith with a bloop single to left, then stole second on the next play. Darrell Porter doubled home Smith and Mike Torrez (2-2) then added George Hendrick. With one out, Ken Oberkfell rapped a bouncer to Balboni, who flubbed a ball and barely had time to take the play at second.

On the next pitch, David Green ripped down the right-field line to score home Porter and Oberkfell. Like Ramsey then singled to left, Forsch doubled deep to left.

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**Pirates 6, Giants 4**  
 In San Diego, Terry Kennedy hit a two-run homer in the second inning, and Ruppert Jones added a three-run shot in the fourth to power the Pirates to a 6-4 triumph over San Francisco. John Montefusco (1-0) went six innings to earn the triumph, and Gary Lucas got the final out for his third save. Andy McGaffigan (0-1) took the loss. Max Venable stole home for the Giants in the third inning.

**White Sox 12, Orioles 11**  
 In the American League, at Chicago, Ron Kittle drove in six runs to lead the White Sox to a 12-11

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the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 30 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people aged 65 and older is projected to increase from 10.5 million in 1990 to 15.5 million in 2000, and to 20.5 million in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). The number of people aged 65 and older is projected to increase from 10.5 million in 1990 to 15.5 million in 2000, and to 20.5 million in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

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